

The Prose Style of Richard Rolle of Hampole with Special Reference to Its Euphuistic Tendencies

BY

JOHN PHILIP SCHNEIDER

Wittenberg College, Springfield, O.

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN
CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1906

J. H. Furst Company

BALTIMORE



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THE PROSE STYLE OF RICHARD ROLLE OF HAM- POLE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ITS EUPHUISTIC TENDENCIES.

INTRODUCTION.

Horstman¹ introduces Richard Rolle of Hampole to the modern reader with unstinted enthusiasm, declaring him "one of the greatest English writers" and "the true father of English literature" (II, p. xxxv). Undoubtedly in his own day and for some generations after, Richard Rolle's vogue was wide, not only among the common people because of his good works entitling him to saintship almost recognized by the church,² but also on account of his writings which made him according to Horstman (II, p. xxxv), "head and parent of the great mystic and religious writers of the fourteenth century—of W. Hilton, Wicliffe, Mirk, etc., all of whom received their light from his light and followed in his steps."

¹ C. Horstman, *Yorkshire Writers. Richard Rolle of Hampole. An English Father of the Church and His Followers.* 2 vols. London, 1895-96.

² Cf. B. ten Brink, *Early English Literature*, New York, 1888, p. 283 :

"Richard's hermit life did not confine him forever to the same spot. He changed his habitation more than once ; but he does not seem to have left the diocese of York after his return from Oxford We find him at last in the corner of Yorkshire at Hampole, near Doncaster, where he died in 1349. The spot became the goal of many pilgrims, drawn by the fame of his saintly life, and of the miracles which took place at his grave. His memory was greatly honoured by the nuns of the Cistercian convent, which drew no small advantage from the added attractions of the place. It was they who caused to be written an *Officium de sancto Ricardo heremita*, in anticipation of the hermit's canonisation, and its *Legenda* contain nearly all that we know of Hampole's life."

See Perry, *English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle de Hampole*, E. E. T. S., 20, for the *Officium et Legenda*. Its opening paragraph reads :

"*Officium de Sancto Ricardo heremita postquam fuerit ab ecclesiâ canonizatus, quia interim non licet publicè in ecclesiâ cantare de eo horas canonicas, vel solempnizare festum de ipso. Potest tamen homo euidentialiam huius sue eximine sanctitatis et vite . . . venerari, et in orationibus privatis eius suffragia petere, et se suis precibus commendare.*"

The present interest in this old master is chiefly historical. After all his works, Latin and English, have been collected, however, and made accessible to us, that interest may be quickened and Horstman's (II, p. xxxiv) eulogy may be felt to be warranted: "Richard Rolle was one of the most remarkable men of his time, yea of history. It is a strange and not very creditable fact that one of the greatest of Englishmen has hitherto been doomed to oblivion . . . he, one of the noblest champions of humanity, a hero, a saint, a martyr . . . has never had his resurrection yet—a forgotten brave. And yet he has rendered greater service to his country and to the world at large than all the great names of his time." The judgment of ten Brink (p. 291 f.) is more restrained. He does not believe with Horstman that "Rolle broke the way of the Reformers," for he says, "He formed his whole life not according to the directions of an external authority, but in obedience to the promptings of an inner voice, which was to him the voice of God. Yet we cannot perceive in Richard's theological views the slightest deviation from the orthodoxy of that time. He implicitly accepted all dogmas, and in the doctrines of the schools, his guides were the proved, universally received authorities. Richard belonged to the class of men who combine a childlike reverence for ecclesiastical authority and a naive acquiescence in transmitted dogmas, with independent fervour of religious life." After giving an appreciative account of Rolle's life and activity ten Brink concludes, "All in all, Hampole is the most notable religious writer of the first half of the fourteenth century, and he had a corresponding influence upon later religious literature, especially that of the fifteenth century." Owing to the small amount of Rolle's prose accessible to ten Brink, he ventures no criticism of his qualities as a writer.

Morley, in *English Writers*, vol. IV, gives Rolle considerable space, but it is almost wholly taken up with the *Pricke of Conscience*, Rolle's best known work. With regard to his prose he makes no attempt to estimate its quality or its influence on the times. Ker, in his "Introduction" to Craik's *English Prose*, does not mention Rolle, while Craik has no extract from his writings. Saintsbury, in the *Specimens of English Prose Style*, omits Rolle and his century, while in the *Short History of English Literature*

he has but little to say of Rolle as a writer. "His prose treaties," he says (p. 75), "contain nothing remarkable as literature, though they may, with care, be taken as further stages in the chain which leads from the *Anceren Rivle* to Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*." This is certainly a remarkable statement if it means that the *Parson's Tale*, little else but a translation, stands on a higher level than either the *Anceren Rivle* or the best work of Rolle. For Rolle's shorter poems, however, Saintsbury (p. 76) has high praise, but finds fault with Horstman for saying of them, "the beauty, the melody of these lines has never been surpassed." Earle, in his *English Prose* and Hunt, in *English Prose and Prose Writers*, give no treatment of Richard Rolle. It is much more surprising to find in so recent a work as that of Snell's,¹ dealing with the fourteenth century, so little attention given to Rolle. "The fruits of his study and meditation are," he says (p. 390), "seen in his realistic *Pricke of Conscience* wherein he describes the Fall of Man, the Judgment, Hell and Heaven, agreeably to orthodox conceptions, and in a less certain but more poetical body of lyrical work, as well as in prose." His few words on the prose of Rolle show that its superior quality and considerable quantity had not impressed Snell. This is all the more remarkable when we find him declaring, "It has been said that in England the tendency to mysticism was most conspicuous in poetry. To this statement there is one notable exception—the *Ayenbite of Inwyte* or in modern phrase, Remorse of Conscience." Not the *Ayenbite of Inwyte*, but the far more original treatises and meditations of Richard Rolle should be noted as the marked exceptions, and especially so if the account of mysticism, as given by Snell,² is taken into consideration.

¹ F. J. Snell, *The Fourteenth Century*. Edinburgh and London, 1899.

² "It is doubtful whether this wave of mysticism can be properly described as an intellectual movement. Perhaps it is best compared to the Evangelical revival of the last century, which incredulous observers, like Horace Walpole, loved to designate as "enthusiasm." The truth is, however, that the movement had several phases, and comprehended all of religion which is not purely outward and ceremonial. The great articles on which it insisted were a striving after union with God, renunciation of the world, and the cultivation of an inner and spiritual life. . . . The essence of mysticism was not a cold assent of the reason to certain abstract propositions, but feeling and imagination, the perception of a divine beyond invisible to the eye of the flesh, and the glowing response of the heart to the abysmal love of God." (*Ibid.* p. 393.)

Viewed from his exposition, it is difficult to understand why he considers the formal *Ayenbite of Inwyte* as genuinely mystic, which the major part of Rolle's work, written under the influence of strong religious ecstasy most certainly is. "The most obvious trait," he continues, "in the mystic literature of the fourteenth century is its frank adoption of the vernacular." But it is in this very use of the vernacular that gives all the more reason why Rolle should have been considered in this connection. Horstman (II, p. xxxv) goes far enough to say that Rolle "was the first to employ the vernacular." It is safe to say that he first used it to any considerable extent, and that his work is more original than any other of the period.

The most recent account of Richard Rolle and his activity is from the pen of Dr. Garnett.¹ Though appreciative in tone it is untrustworthy in matters of historic facts, as the following citation may serve to show: "He wrote much both in Latin and English and preceded Wycliffe as a translator or rather paraphraser of several portions of Scripture of which only his version of the Psalms and Canticles have yet been printed. The two most considerable of his Latin treatises *De Emendatione Vitae* and *De Incendio Amoris* were translated into English by Richard Misyn in 1434 and 1435. The most important of his English works *The Pricke of Conscience* is in rhyme and extends to seven books. It is entirely ascetic in character, a perfect representation of the mediaeval view of life as beheld from the cloister, free from every symptom of the approaching renaissance except for the acquaintance with many classical writers, but is highly important in a philological point of view from the insight which it affords into the character of our language in the early fourteenth century by the comparison of the original Northumbrian of the Yorkshire hermit with the Southern English dialects into which it has been transmuted by copyists. Rolle was certainly a most remarkable man, and as author fills the most conspicuous place between Layamon and Langland. He performed nearly the same mission as, centuries later, Bunyan and Wesley were to discharge in quickening the spiritual life of their times: and though he wanted

¹ Richard Garnett and Edmund Gosse, *An Illustrated History of English Literature*. 4 vols. New York, 1903. Vol. I, p. 92.

the creative genius of the former and the administrative genius of the latter his verse is much better than Bunyan's, and his prose has a delicate aroma lacking in Wesley's. The verse, though seldom true poetry, is admirable for its homely energy, but, terse as the expression may be, the nature of the subject renders it discursive, and we shall do him more justice by citing his prose in modernized form." Then, after a few words by way of explanation, Dr. Garnett quotes a passage from the *Epistle on Mixed Life*,¹ and ends his notice of Richard Rolle with these words: "It is clear that English prose in the middle of the fourteenth century, even in the mouth of a Northumbrian, had become capable of tenderness, force and true eloquence." It would be more correct to say that Rolle translated Petrus Lombardus'² commentary and version of the Psalms and Canticles. Furthermore, studies³ in Rolle's sources do not show that he knew many classical writers. It is difficult to prove that he knew even a few, at least at first hand. The *Pricke of Conscience* serves well to show his knowledge of ecclesiastical authors, as its theme and general tone might indicate. Dr. Garnett seems to have had this poem in mind, for one of the minor poems might have been quoted without fear of injustice to Rolle. But it is with Dr. Garnett's final words and their application, that we are most concerned. Apparently he drew from Perry's *English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle de Hampole*, E. E. T. S. 20, published in 1866, without consulting Horstman's

¹This is its title in Horstman, vol. I, p. 264.

²Cf. H. Middendorf, *Studien über Richard Rolle von Hampole mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Psalmen Commentare*. Magdeburg, 1888. This dissertation proves conclusively that Rolle's English Psalter, edited by Bramley, is not a translation of his Latin Psalter, but, barring a few omissions and additions, a faithful translation of Petrus Lombardus' *Commentarium in Psalmos*. In his Latin Psalter, which is also greatly indebted to Lombardus, he gives him credit in only one place, Ps. CXVIII, 11 *haec secundum glosarum Lombardi*. Horstman's assertion that Rolle's "prose commentary on the Psalms and Canticles is substantially a translation of his Latin Psalter" (Vol. II, XXXII) is incorrect. Horstman cannot have known of Middendorf's work. The statement in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "of hardly less interest than the *Pricke of Conscience* is Rolle's English paraphrase of the Psalms and Canticles," is likewise misleading.

³Cf. R. Köhler, "Quellennachweise zu 'The Pricke of Conscience.'" *Ebert's Jahrbuch für rom. und eng. Lit.*, Vol. VI., p. 196 f. A. Hahn, *Quellenuntersuchungen zu Richard Rolle's englischen Schriften*. Halle, 1900.

volumes which appeared thirty years later. Horstman (I, p. 269) assigns the particular treatise, from which Dr. Garnett took his selection, to Walter Hilton to whom all the earliest prints assign it. From internal evidence we are prepared to say that the treatise is most certainly not by Richard Rolle.¹ The careful reader could never in justice consider it his, for both style and content give unmistakable proof of its non-authenticity. Dr. Garnett's praise fits the selection and it fits Richard Rolle too, but since it is based on a misconception, the intended force is unfortunately lost. It is not evident why the original dialect was not quoted, for then the reader could see for himself the "tenderness, force and true eloquence of the passage," and express his own surprise, that it came from the mouth of a Northumbrian.

The first to bring Rolle's prose to notice was Perry. His volume, however, must be consulted with care. Its first selection is not an original work of Rolle's, but a translation of the *Encomium nominis Jesu*,² which may or may not have been made by him, and the ninth selection on *Active and Contemplative Life*, as has already been shown, can no longer be considered his but must be placed to the credit of Walter Hilton. In the following year, 1867, Mätzner embodied the contribution of Perry in the *Altenglische Sprachproben*. Then came Ullman who, in *Englische Studien*, VII, 1884, edited the prose *Meditatio* in connection with his work on the *Speculum vitae*. This early study of Ullman's has been followed by others of similar technical nature, none of which, however, is concerned with Rolle's prose style. In 1884, Bramley edited the

¹ Convincing proof that the treatise is not by Richard Rolle is found in its views on "Active, contemplative and medled life." Rolle knows but two, the active and the contemplative, and to him the contemplative is the higher and alone worthy of emulation. There is never praise for a third, the medled (cf. e. g. *The Form of Perfect Living*, I, 46, 48, and *The Fire of Love*, Chaps. IV and XXII). Furthermore the application of the active life to Martha and the contemplative to Mary, Horstman, I, 267, is foreign to him. For this illustration cf. Wyclif, Arnold, I, 383, and the *Ayenbite of Inwyrt*, 199. "Contemplative life is to him the highest state of existence, and while St. Bernhard ranks it between the lower and higher stages of active life, it transcends to him, all active life,—the contemplative cannot sin, not even err, because God would not allow it." (Horstman, I, p. XIII.)

² Cf. Horstman, vol. I, p. 186; Hahn, p. 4.

largest English work attributed to Rolle, a translation and exposition of the Psalter and certain Canticles.¹ Thus it remained for Horstman, not only to publish the numerous poems and prose pieces which may or may not be Rolle's, though attributed to him, but also to give the most extended study of the man. This he did in the edition already cited, which in addition to a most elaborate introduction, contains a long list of works, Latin and English, which will form the basis of all future work on the genius and activity of Rolle. Horstman accepts or rejects some selections on the basis of dialect, peculiarities of language and style, or the circumstances of Rolle's life. No attempt has been made to establish a canon by means of a closer study of his style. To make some contribution toward that end is one of the purposes of this paper. Rolle's style is characteristic enough to justify the attempt, for prose that can call forth such praise as Horstman bestows is worthy of more attention for its own sake than it has yet received. Of Rolle's two epistles, *The Form of Perfect Living* and the *Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat*, Horstman writes (II, p. xxxii), "epistles which I do not hesitate to count amongst the pearls of Old English literature and which are the more valuable because they are the first really original productions and the first prose works of medieval English." Concerning Rolle's range and powers he says (II, p. xxxv), "His chief characteristic as a writer is originality—he is essentially a genius, everywhere he cuts out new ways, lays new foundations. Next he is preëminently a lyric; whether he writes in prose or verse, he writes from feeling, from momentary inspiration. Besides, he is of remarkable versatility and facility; he writes with equal ease in Latin and English, in verse and prose and in all kinds of verse, frequently mixing prose and verse in the same work; he writes postils, commentaries, epistles, satires, polemic treatises, prayers and devotions, lyric and didactic poetry, epigrams. His defects lie on the side of method and discrimination; he is weak in argumentation, in developing and arranging his ideas. His sense of beauty is natural rather than acquired, and his mind is too restless to properly perfect his writings.

¹ H. R. Bramley, *The Psalter or Psalms of David and Certain Canticles. With a Translation and Exposition in English, etc.* Oxford, 1884.

His form is not sufficiently refined, and full of irregularities ; his taste not unquestionable ; his style frequently difficult, rambling, full of veiled allusions—much depends on the punctuation to make it intelligible.” There is much in this criticism that is true, but from much we must, in the course of this paper, emphatically differ. What is said of Rolle’s versatility and genius cannot be questioned, but the remarks on his style are in need of correction at almost every point. They show no discrimination, and as criticism are too indefinite to place Richard Rolle in the proper light ; but it was Horstman’s effort to bring the man to notice, and that he has done admirably, placing him in a favorable position for study.

I. SOME ASPECTS OF PROSE IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

(1.) *Preliminary Observations.*

It seems a commonly accepted opinion that our early prose, and especially that of the fourteenth century, shows little that is worthy of serious attention. At any rate it has received but scant treatment, notably on the side of its technique, from the historians of our prose development. Saintsbury, in an essay introductory to his *Specimens of English Prose Style*, attempts to show what the successive characteristics of English prose style have been. He begins (p. xviii) with “the invention of printing, though not denying the claim of books written before Caxton set up his press to the title of English prose, but simply fixing a term from which literary production has been voluminous and uninterrupted in its volume.” The first writer to claim his attention is Malory, and he finds that “in the earlier examples (up, it may be said, to Lyly) the character of the passages is scarcely characteristic.” Saintsbury contends that it was not until the reign of Elizabeth was pretty well advanced that there is evidence on the part of writers to form an English prose style. The long delay is due to the regard for Latin, by those who cared for elegance and precision, while English was thought “scarcely susceptible of form.” Another reason he finds in the lack of models, or in the fact that the lan-

guages, Spanish and Italian, which were cultivated in England, were too "alien from English in all linguistic points to be of much service." In a brief paragraph (p. xxxv) he summarizes the matter as follows: "The course of English prose style presents in little the following picture. Beginning for the most part with translations from Latin or French, with prose versions of prose writings, and with theological treatises aiming more at the edification of the vulgar than at style, it was not until after the invention of printing that it attempted perfection of form. But in its early strivings it was hindered, first by the persistent attempt to make an uninflected do the duty of an inflected language and secondly, by the curious flood of conceits which accompanied or helped or were caused by the Spanish and Italian influences of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."

In a more recent work, *The Flourishing of Romance and Rise of Allegory*, 1897, Saintsbury shows more generous acknowledgment for the worth of some early prose, which it is not easy to make consistent with his own remarks in the essay just quoted. In the chapter on "The Making of English," he says, "*The Ancren Riwele* has . . . nothing particularly noticeable in its form, though its easy pleasant prose would have been wonderful at the time in any other European nation. Even French prose was only just beginning to take such form, and had not yet severed itself from poetic peculiarities to anything like the same extent. But then the unknown author of the *Ancren Riwele* had certainly four or five, and perhaps more, centuries of good sound Saxon prose before him: while St. Bernard (if he wrote French prose) and even Villehardouin had little or nothing but Latin." It would be a difficult matter to show wherein "good sound Saxon prose" served as a model for the writer of the *Ancren Riwele*, nor is it clear why St. Bernard or Villehardouin could not have written good French prose without models. If the *Ancren Riwele* may be considered successful prose it is perhaps as just to charge some of its quality to the genius of its author as a prose writer, as it is natural to remark that Chaucer's prose is not up to that which his genius as a poet would lead us to expect from him. Saintsbury's effort to

redeem early French prose is hardly less happy than his attempt.¹ to account for the prose of Chaucer on the ground of the "exceptional talent of its author." It would be no less pertinent to ask why the writer of the *Ancren Riwle* did not leave us a volume of fine poetry.

In the general criticisms of Saintsbury there is not enough regard for the weight and effectiveness of early prose when viewed in its own light. "In literature as in every product of human skill," Pater declares,² "in the moulding of a bell or platter for instance . . . wherever the producer so modifies his work as over and above its primary use or intention to make it pleasing (to himself of course in the first instance) there 'fine' as opposed to serviceable art exists." This shows a more hopeful starting point for study. Prose writing of any period is striving for style as soon as it shows traces of adornment. This view may be held without bringing one under the charge of Saintsbury.³ "Indeed at the present day among a very large proportion of general readers, and among a certain number of critics, 'style' appears to be understood in the sense of ornate and semi-metrical style. A work which is not 'remarkable for style' is a work which does not pile up the adjectives, which abstains from rhythm so pronounced that it ceases to be rhythm merely and becomes metre, which avoids rather than seeks the drawing of attention to originality of expression, and which worships no gods but proportion, clearness, closeness of expression to idea and (within the limits incident to prose) rhythmical arrangement." After all, what such critics mean by style is something tangible, although there is much said of indefinable qualities.⁴

¹ Cf. *The Earlier Renaissance*, Edinburgh and London, 1901, p. 235 :

"Chaucer's own prose, interesting and important as it is, has nothing of the exceptional and almost portentous character of his verse. It fits (with due allowance for the exceptional talent of its author) easily and naturally into the succession of its kind, from the *Ancren Riwle* and the various theological exercises of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries."

² Style, *Fortnightly Review*, Dec. 1888, p. 730.

³ Cf. Introduction to *Specimens*, p. xxxi.

⁴ Cf. e. g., R. L. Stevenson, "On Style in Literature." *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 47 (1885), p. 560 :

"We may now briefly enumerate the elements of style. We have peculiar to the prose writer, the task of keeping his phrases large, rhythmical and pleasing to

De Quincey¹ states it, "Style may be viewed as an *organic* thing and as a *mechanic* thing." Early, formative prose must first be viewed on its mechanical side, on the side of technique. It may necessarily be lacking on its organic side, on that of its content, and still be remarkable for style, even if it have many of the faults enumerated by Saintsbury. Such apparent faults may be due to its theory of technique. They are nevertheless a large part of its style as the mechanical element is of any style. The question of good or bad in the matter of mechanical elements is a matter of historic periods, and early prose cannot therefore with justice be condemned when its more tangible elements, those devices consciously formed and applied, are not taken at their worth in their own time. Even Saintsbury confirms this by the reasons he gives for placing the beginning of English prose with Maundeville.² "Here," he says, "for the first time the subject and the idiosyncrasy of the author produce between them a *style*. There are approaches to a style in Chaucer; but he has kept too close to his text in the *Boethius*, to his subject in the *Astrolabe*. Wyclif might have reached one; Trevisa probably could not; Mandeville did. His object being to produce his effect by the accumulation of interesting marvels, with few models before him except the Bible, he mostly affects short sentences and has a trick of beginning each with 'And.' This conjunction is dear to the story-teller, because it has a sort of arresting and exciting effect upon the hearer, by promise of something fresh; while the long periodic sentence besides requiring greater practice is apt to weary readers. The vocabulary is simple and rather modern, with few obsolete or archaic words. . . . Few books of the time when the spelling is

the ear, without ever allowing them to fall into the strictly metrical: peculiar to the versifier the task of combining his double, treble and quadruple pattern, feet and groups, logic and metre—harmonious in diversity: common to both, the task of artfully combining the prime elements of language into phrases that shall be musical in the mouth; the task of weaving their argument into a texture of committed phrases and rounded periods—but this is particularly binding in the case of prose: and again common to both, the task of choosing apt, explicit, and communicative words."

¹ Thomas De Quincey, *Style and Rhetoric and Other Papers*, Edinburgh, 1862, p. 194.

² *A Short History of English Literature*, p. 151.

completely modernized have so little uncouthness about them. And one thing (rarely to be said of any author, rarest of one in medieval time) is that this author knows when to stop." This shows an advance over the opinion expressed in his *Essay on English Prose Style*.¹ We are taken from the invention of printing back to Maundeville, but since there was the intention of beginning with a duly formed style, why the far more original work of Richard Rolle was not chosen is not plain. In the matter of tangible elements of style, the burden of Saintsbury's plea, his prose is far superior to Maundeville's.

Professor Ker, in the opening essay to Craik's *English Prose*, shows more regard for our early prose. He finds (p. 10), "so much good prose in Europe between the time of Alfred and the time of Elizabeth that one may easily forget the enormous difficulties that stood in the way of it. Long after Alfred there still remained as a disturbing force the natural antipathy of the natural man to listen to any continuous story except in verse." The volume of Craik begins with selections from Wyclif, Chaucer, and Maundeville, and, as Professor Ker states it (p. 11), "not with any early improvisings of style. The style of these writers is fully formed—a common pattern of style, common over all the countries of Europe." In spite of this, Ker says (p. 12), "In the fourteenth century one need not be surprised to find that a good deal of the prose of all the countries of Europe is a little monotonous and jaded. . . . Prose literature taught and preached so much that it lost all spring and freshness; it suffered from an absorbing interest in the weaker brethren, and became too condescendingly simple. The childlike simplicity of medieval prose is sometimes a little hypocritical and fawning." Though neither of the critics quoted seems over willing to admit the fact, their concurrent testimony proves that we may well look for style in the fourteenth century. They show little effort at forming a theory of the prose of the time. That such a theory might be formed rests on the admission that certain writers possess a common pattern of style. What that pattern may be, we are left to infer.

¹ Introduction to his *Specimens* (1885), republished in *Miscellaneous Essays*, N. Y., 1892.

We shall now give brief notes on some of the prose of the century, with especial reference to such features which may be termed artificial, presenting, in the fact of their employment, evidence of a desire to form a style.

(2.) *Thomas Usk.*

Of the more prominent texts Usk's *Testament of Love*¹ is unique in the century for its obscurity, rambling style, and heterogeneous contents. As Skeat has shown, some sections are merely an inferior prose version of Chaucer's *House of Fame*, others are easily traced to the *Boethius*, still others are almost beyond analysis. Few are really clear, and but little in all of it has the mark of originality or cleverness. When read after the *Boethius*, the *Testament of Love* gives one the impression that in Usk we have a weak imitator of Chaucer's work and style with all his faults accentuated, because Usk did not know that Chaucer's prose was not English prose. Slavish adherence to a slavish model produced a startling result.

Usk's painful propensity for the abstract led him into obscurity and vagueness. Often the content is in itself simple enough, but Usk did not wish to be simple. As a result we have hazy, uncertain passages. The *Testament* was meant to be convincing, but it leaves only the impression of indefiniteness and insincerity. Its plan is so disjointed, so haphazard, that even slow, careful reading leaves the mind dissatisfied. Occasionally a passage stands out as interesting, perhaps mainly because of the general dead-level of its context:

"'O! for,' quod she, 'heven with skyes that foule cloudes maken and darke weders, with gret tempestes and huge, maketh the mery dayes with softe shyning sonnes. Also the yere with-draweth floures and beautee of herbes and of erth; the same yere maketh springes and jolite in Vere so to renovel with peynted coloures, that erthe semeth as gay as heven. Sees that blasteth and with wawes throweth shippes, of whiche the living creatures for greet peril for hem dreden ;

¹ W. W. Skeat, *Chaucerian and Other Pieces* (Vol. VII of Oxford Chaucer), Oxford, 1897. Cf. Introduction, p. xx, for conclusive proof that Thomas Usk is the author. R. W. Bond, in his "Introductory Essay" to Volume I of *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, 3 vols., Oxford, 1902, p. 144, speaks of "the unknown author of the *Testament of Love*."

right so, the same sees maketh smothe waters and golden sayling, and comforteth hem with noble haven that firste were so ferde. Hast thou not (quod she) lerned in thy youth, that Jupiter hath in his wardrobe bothe garmentes of joye and of sorowe? What wost thou how soone he wol turne of the garment of care, and clothe thee in blisse? Pardè, it is not ferre fro thee. Lo, an olde proverbe aleged by many wyse :—"Whan bale is greetest, than is bote a nye-bore." Wherof wilt thou dismaye? Hope wel and serve wel; and that shal thee save, with thy good bileve' " (p. 81).

"What woldest thou demen if a man wold yeve three quarters of nobles of golde? That were a precious gift?" 'Ye, certes,' quod I. 'And what,' quod she, 'three quarters ful of perles?' 'Certes,' quod I, 'that were a riche gift.' 'And what,' quod she, 'of as mokel azure?' Quod I, 'a precious gift at ful.' 'Were not,' quod she, 'a noble gift of al these atones?' 'In good faith,' quod I, 'for wanting of Englissh naming of so noble a worde, I cannot, for preciousnesse, yeve it a name.' 'Rightfully,' quod she, 'hast thou demed; and yet love, knit in vertue, passeth al the gold in this erthe. Good wil, accordant to reson, with no maner propertè may be countrevayled. Al the azure in the worlde is nat to accompte in respect of reson. Love that with good wil and reson accordeth, with non erthly riches may nat ben amended' " (p. 127).

At times Usk uses legitimate artificialities with some skill, but, for the length of the piece (145 pages in Skeat), the evidences of a desire to be attractive through such means are not abundant, as the following lists clearly show.

Rime :—"O love, whan shal I ben plesed? O charitee, whan shal I ben esed?" (p. 7).—"so that *fame* shal holde down *infame*" (p. 31).—"Now is steward, for his *achates*; now is courtiour, for his *debates*; now is eschetour, for his *wronges*; now is losel, for his *songes*, personer" (p. 51).—"til grace and blisse of his service folowing have him so mokel *esed*, as his abydinge toforehande hath him *dised*" (p. 125).—"for though dronkenness be foreboden, men shulde not ben drinklesse" (p. 132).

Alliteration :—"as lanes with *ladels* their maste to seche, I walked thinking alone a wonder greet *whyle*" (p. 15).—"Now, *wel* of wysdom and of al *welthe*, withouten thee may nothing ben lerned" (p. 20).—"Somytyme, toforn the sonne in the seventh partie was smiten" (p. 50).—"Poore masse-book and leud chapelayn, and broken surplice with many an *hole*; good *houndes* and many, to hunt after *hart* and *hare*, to fede in their *feastes*" (p. 51).—"And fairnesse of feldes ne of habitacions, ne multitude of *meyne*" (p. 63).—"Parde, the beestes that han but feling soules, have suffisaunce in their own selfe; and ye, that ben lyke to god, seken encrease of suffisaunce from so excellent a *kynde* of so love things" (p. 64).—"Certes,' quod I, 'of these things longe have I had greet luste to be lerned; for yet, I wene, goddes wil and his *prescience* accordeth with my service in lovinge of this *precious* *Margariteperle*' " (p. 114).—"Lo! somtyme

thou wrytest no art ne art than in no wil to wryte. And right as while thou wrytest nat or els wolt nat wryte, it is nat nedeful thee to wryte or else wilne to wryte" (p. 122).

Repetition : Usk shows a preference for repetition. The following sentences show favorite forms :

"So, sothly, this *leud* clowdy occupation is not to prayse but by the *leude*; for comunly *leude leudenness* commandeth" (p. 1).—"so unworthily clothed al-togider in the *cloudy cloude* of uncounning" (p. 3).—"Now, *good goodly* think on this" (p. 6).—"O *good goodly* whan shal the dyce turne?" (p. 7).—"Wost nat wel thyself, that thou in fourme of making *passest* nat Adam that eet of the apple? Thou *passest* nat the stedfastnesse of Noe, that eetinge of the grape becom dronke. Thou *passest* nat the chastitè of Lothe, that lay by his doughter" (p. 36).—"but every man travayleth by *dyvers* studye and seketh thilke blisse by *dyvers* wayes" (p. 57).—"For right as he *besmyteth* the dignites, thilke same thing ayenward him *smyteth*, or else shulde *smyte*" (p. 68).—"For *kyndely werking* is so y-put in hem, to do suche thinges; for every *kyndely* in *werking* sheweth his *kynde*" (p. 68).—"And *Justice* rightfully *jugeth*; and *juging* departeth to every wight that is his owne" (p. 103).—"Right as men *wil* not thorow *necessitè*, right so is not love of *wil* thorow *necessitè*; ne thorow *necessite* wrought thilke same *wil*" (p. 117).

Perhaps the most interesting stylistic peculiarity in the *Testament* is the fondness for grouping illustrative allusions. The mannerism is so insistent that the Euphuistic rhetoric is suggested. There is no similarity, however, in construction, and little in content :

"'Wel,' quod she, 'raddest thou never how Paris of Troye and Heleyne loved togider, and yet had they not entrecomuned of speche? Also Acrisius shette Dane his doughter in a tour, for suertee that no wight shulde of her have no maistry in my service; and yet Jupiter by signes, without any speche, had al his purpose ayenst her fathers wil'" (p. 21).

"For if thou drede suche jangleres, thy viage to make, understand wel, that he that dredeth any rayn, to sowe his cornes, he shal have than [bare] bernes. Also he that is aferd of his clothes, let him daunce naked! Who nothing undertaketh, and namely in my service, nothing acheveth. After grete stormes the weder is often mery and smothe. After moche clatering, there is mokil rowning. Thus, after jangling wordes, cometh 'huisst! pees! and be stille'" (p. 23).

"Is nat every thing, a this halfe god, mad buxom to mannes contemplation, understandinge in heven and in erthe and in helle? Hath not man beinge with stones, soule of vexing with trees and herbes? Hath he nat soule of felinege, with beestes, fisshes, and fowles? And he hath soule of reson and understanding with aungels; so that in him is knit all maner of lyvinges by a resonable proporcoun" ¹ (p. 39).

¹ Cf. *The Mirror of St. Edmund*, Horstman I, 223 :

"Somme, he hase gyffene to be anely with-owttene mare, als unto stanes. Till

“ ‘A! ha!’ quod she, ‘right so Ese, while she lasteth gloseth and flatereth; and lightly voydeth whan she most pleasauntly sheweth; and ever, in hir absence, she is aboute to do thee tene and sorowe in herte. But Unsely, al-be-it with bytande chere, sheweth what she is, and so doth not that other; wherefore Unsely doth not begyle. Selinesse disceyvet; Unsely put away doute. That oon maketh men blynde; that other openeth their eyen in shewing of wrechidnesse. The oon is ful of drede to lese that is not his owne; that other is sobre, and maketh men discharged of mokel hevinesse in burthen. The oon draweth a man from very good; the other haleth him to vertue by the hookes of thoughtes’ ” (p. 44).

“If the fyr doth any wight brenne, blame his owne wit that put himselfe so far in the hete. Is not fyr gentillest and most comfortable element amonges al other? Fyr is cheef werker in furtheringe sustenaunce to mankynde. Shal fyr ben blamed for it brende a foole naturelly, by his own stulty witte in steringe?” (p. 56).

“Is not erthe drye; and water, that is next and betwene th’ erthe, is wete? Dry and wete ben contrarie, and mowen not acorde, and yet this discordaunce is bounde to acorde by cloudes; for bothe elementes ben colde. Right so the eyre, that is next the water, is wete; and eke it is hot. This eyre by his hete contrarieth water that is cold; but thilke contrarioustè is oned by moysture; for bothe be they moyst. Also the fyr, that is next the eyre and it encloseth al aboute, is drye, wherthrough it contrarieth eyre, that is wete; and in hete they acorde for bothe they ben hote” (p. 75).

“For al-though angels blisse be more than Adams was in paradyse, yet may it not be denyed, that Adam in paradyse ne had suffisaunce of blisse; for right as greet herte is without al maner of coldenesse, and yet may another herte more hete have; right so nothing defended Adam in paradyse to ben blessed, without al maner nede. Al-though aungels blisse be moche more, forsothe, it foloweth not [that], lasse than another to have, therfore him nedeth; but for to wante a thing whiche that behoveth to ben had, that may ‘nede’ ben cleped; and that was not in Adam at the first ginning” (p. 140).

Usk was evidently in doubt as to the effectiveness of his reasoning here, for he adds, “God and the Margaryte weten what I mene.” We shall compare our next specimen of grouping with some of similar tone taken from the *Euphues*:

“Sottes and foles lete lightly out of mynde the good that men techeth hem. I sayd therefore, thy stocke must be stronge, and in greetnesse wel herted: the tree is ful feble that et the firste dent falleth. And although frute fayleth oon

oper, to be & to lyffe, als to grysse and trees. Till oper, to be, to lyffe, to fele, als to bestes. Till oper, to be, to lyffe, to fele and with resone to deme, als to mane and to angells. For stanes erre, bot þay ne hafe nogte lyffe ne felys noghte ne demes noghte. Trees are, [&] þay lyffe, bot þay fele noghte. . . Men are, þay lyffe, þay fele and þay deme, and þay erre with stanes, þay lyffe with trees, þay fele with bestes, and demys with angells.”

yere or two, yet shal suche a seson come oon tyme or other, that shal bringe out frute that [is parfit]. Fole, have I not sayd toforn this, as tyme hurteth, right so ayenward tyme heleth and rewardeth; and a tree oft fayled is holde more in deyntee whan it frute forth bringeth. A marchaunt that for ones lesinge in the see no more to aventure thinketh, he shal never with aventure come to richesse. So ofte must men on the oke smyte, til the happy dent have entred, whiche with the okes owne swaye maketh it to come al at ones. So ofte falleth the lethy water on the harde rocke, til it have thorow persed it. The even draught of the wyr-drawer maketh the wyr to ben even and supplewerching; and if he stinted in his draught, the wyr breketh a-sonder. Every tree wel springeth, whan it is wel grounded and not often removed" ¹ (p. 135).

From the *Euphues*:

"And though women haue small force to ouercome men by reason, yet haue they good Fortune to undermine them by pollycie. The softe droppes of raine pearce the hard Marble, many strokes ouerthrow the tallest Oke, a silly woman in time may make such a breach into a mans hearte as hir teares may enter without resistance. . . ." (Bond I, 225).

¹Cf. F. Landmann, *Der Euphuismus: sein Wesen seine Quelle, seine Geschichte*, Giessen, 1881, p. 55:

"Dieselbe Überladung mit Vergleiche aus der Naturgeschichte welche ein charakteristisches Merkmal des Euphuismus bildet, macht sich auch schon hier bemerklich." He quotes from *Tottel's Miscellany* under "Uncertain Authors" No. 21, by M. F.:

"Mans flitting live findes surest stay, where sacred Vertue beareth sway.
The sturdy Rocke for all her strength by raging Sees is rent in twayne:
The Marble stone is pearst at length, with little drops of drifting rayne,
The Oxe dooth yeeld unto the yoke,
The Steele obeyeth the hammer stroke,
The stately Stagge, that seemes so stout, by yalping hounds at bay is set,
The swiftest bird, that fleeth above, is caught at length in Fowler's net.
The greatest Fish in deepest Brooke,
Is soon deceived with subtill hooke."

Cf. Lord Berners, *The Golden boke of Marcus Aurelius*, 1534, Letter IV:

"O how variable is fortune, and howe soone a mysadventure falleth before our eies? Fortune gyveth these euyls and see it not: with her handes she toucheth us, and we fele it not: she tredeth us under fete and we knowe it not: she speaketh in our eares, and we here her not: and this is bycause we wyll not knowe her: and finally, when we thynke we are most surest, than are we in most peryll. Trough it is, that with a lytell wynd the fruyte falleth fro the tree: and with a little sparcle the house is sette a fyre: a small rocke breaketh a great shyppe: and with a lytell stone the legge is hurte. I saye that oftentyme of that we feare not, cometh greatte peryll. In a close Fistula, rather than in an open, the surgyens doubte the peryll: I depe styll waters the pilote feareth more than in the greate hye wawes: of secrete embushments, rather than of open armies, the warrior doubteth."

"The little drops of rayne pearceth harde Marble, yron wyth often handlinge is worne to nothinge. Besides this, industry sheweth hir selfe in other thinges, the fertill soyle if it bee neuer tilled doth waxe barren, and that which is most noble by nature is made most vyle by negligence. What tree if it bee not topped beareth any fruite? What vine if it bee not pruned, bringeth foorth grapes? is not the strength of the body tourned to weaknesse throughe too much delicacie, . . . ?" (Bond I, 263).

"What lesse then the grayne of Mustardeseede, in time almost what thinge is greater then the stalke thereof? The slender twigge groweth to a stately tree and that which with the hand might easily haue bene pulled upp, will hardly with the axe be hewen downe. The least sparke, if it bee not quenched will burst into flame, the least Moth in time eateth the thickest clothe" . . . (Bond I, 249).

We shall end our list of citations from the *Testament of Love* with a few which show Usk in his most artificial vein :

"And certes, I am hevy to thinke on these thinges; but who shal yeve me water ynough to drinke, lest myn eyen drye, for renning stremes of teres? Who shal waylen with me my own happy hevynesse? Who shal counsaile me now in my lyking tene, and in my goodly harse? I not. For ever the more I brenne, the more I coveyte; the more that I sorow, the more thirst I in gladnesse. Who shal than yeve me a contrarious drink to stanche the thurst of my blisful bitternesse? Lo, thus I brenne and I drenche; I shiver and I swete. To this reversed yvel was never yet ordeyned salve, forsoth al leches ben unconning, save the Margaryte alone, any suche remedye to purveye" (p. 18).

"After whom ever, in my herte, with thursting desyre wete, I do brenne; unwasting, I langour and fade; and the day of my desteny in dethe or in joye I onbyde; but yet in th' end I am comforted by my supposale, in blisse and in joye to determine after my desyres" (p. 114).

These passages, so extravagant in construction and tone, may be paralleled with a characteristic one from North's *Dial of Princes*, which Courthope¹ considers "a caricature by Guevara of the verbal antithesis used in moderation by Cicero" :

"And afterwards all well considered, all examined, and all proved, I find that the more I eat, the more I die for hunger; the more I drink, the greater thirst I have; the more I rest, the more I am broken; the more I sleep, the drowsier I am; the more I have, the more I covet; the more I desire, the more I am tormented; the more I procure, the less I attain" (Fol. 269).²

¹ W. J. Courthope, *A History of English Poetry*, 4 vols., London, 1895-1903, vol. II, p. 187.

² Cf. *The Golden boke of Marcus Aurelius*, Letter v :

"I. L yeres of my life, I wolde proue all the vyces of this lyfe, to see if any thyng might have satisfied the humayn malyce : And after I had sene all thyng, I founde, that the more I dydde eate, the more I dyed for hungre : the more I

Viewed as a whole the *Testament of Love* is mainly interesting in its capriciousness, in its make-up of forgeries and plagiarisms; but to read it demands patience and fortitude. In the development of our prose it holds no place, for it cannot have had many readers. It apparently had no imitators, for the effort to equal it would have produced absolute nonsense. In its fundamental nature as prose it is thoroughly bad. It must be admitted, however, that in its artificial tone there is evidence of an earnest endeavor to form a style, and that this tone, though not the first in the century, is indicative of the direction prose would take in periods when to be artificial was the first aim. The *Testament*, in the face of its many faults, will always be remarkable as one of the longest original prose monuments of the century. Usk deserves credit for his frank acceptance of English as his medium :

"Let than clerkes endyten in Latin, for they have the propertee of science, and the knowinge in that facultee; and let Frenchmen in their Frenche also endyten their queynt termes, for it is kyndely to their mouthes; and let us shewe our fantasies in suche wordes as we lerneden of our dames tonge" (p. 2).

(3.) *Wyclif.*

In reading the prose of the period, it is a relief to go from the unsatisfactory *Testament of Love* to the work of Wyclif,¹ interesting in content and effective in form and style. Though the performance of Usk is small, when compared with the work of Wyclif, his pages present more difficulties than do the volumes of his contemporary. Troublesome sections in Wyclif are mainly so because his theology is difficult or perhaps strange to the reader.

Wyclif is alive to the dignity of prose. He is clear and concise. He had a message for the people and his chief care was that the people should understand him. It can hardly be said, therefore, that he was trying to produce literature. His zealous haste to say

slepte, the more sluggye I was : the more I dranke, the more thyrste I hadde, the more I rested, the more werye I was : the more good I hadde, the more covetous I was : the more I soughte, the lesse I founde."

¹ Thomas Arnold, *Select English Works of John Wyclif*. 3 vols. Oxford, 1869, 1871. T. D. Mathew, *The English Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted*. E. E. T. S. 74. London, 1880.

all he had to say, could not brook the painstaking care of the conscious stylist, and doubtless his theology too, with its constant reminders of the sin of pride, hampered his art. Antichrist and the friars, with their "new religions" were rampant; to overcome their influence was his first thought. In his works, passages are abundant which show the remarkable strength and bravery of the Reformer, yet their tone is often artificial and gives sufficient proof of Wyclif's feeling for good, attractive prose:

"ghe, gif þi pope or þi bishop or þi persoun bidde þee do þat God biddið þee not to do, leve hem þanne and holde wið God. . . . As gif þi pope or þi bishop or þi persoun bidde þee figte or gyve him of þi goodis agens þe resoun þat Crist haþ govun, dispise hem utterli, and holde þe reule þat Crist techiþ; and ever flee þis heresie, þat þes fadirs mai not erre here" (Arnold I, 232).

"As þis lesyng sprong of preestis, so lesyngis spryngen to day; to bigynne at þe hye preest, and go bi preestis of his sort. And as it semeth to many men þis gabbing smatchiþ blasfemye, and so it semeth grevouser þan was þis gabbing of princis of Jewes. For þei gabidden on Cristis bodi, but þes gabben agens his Godhede. þei seien þat þei soilen men boþe of peyne and of synne; and git summe sich ben Goddis traitours, þat God jugiþ to be dampned. For þes þat þus disseyven þe puple blasfemen agens God. And þus in lawis and in bullis ben gabbingis þicke sownen; and freris, clerkis of þis prince, han sum part in þis crafte" (Arnold II, 144).

"And as many men in umbre seen betere þan men in greet ligt, so meke men in þis ligt seen betere þan men in worldli lygt. For men þat seen þis ligt of heven moten nedis be lowe, and se it in umbre. And þus it semeth þat many prelatis, for þei ben hye in þer sigt, for þei trowen not in Crist, ben blynde bi glorie of þis world" (Arnold II, 150).

"And þus þat man of þe world gyveth a stoon instide of breed, þat instide of artichis of þe troupe gyveth doctrinal conclusions: þei ben stable in þrupe everlastinge, but þei feden not mannys soule. He gyveth a serpent to mannys soule instide of a figsh, þat gyveth bisi werkes of þe world þat venemyn men as an eddre. And so figshis ben medeful werkis, for to gete þe blisse of hevne; and serpentis ben bisi werkes to gete here worldli welfare. þat man gyveth a scorpoun in þe stide of an ey, þat gyveth worldli frendship or love for love or frendship in God. For such worldli frendship mote styng a man at þe laste, but love in Crist lastiþ evere, til þat it haþ brought a man to blis. And þus, if we taken good hede, worldli frendis serve þus men, bitwixe whom þei seien is frendship and love, for þer jugement is blynd. And þus þe popis, and other prelatis gyven ofte to þer fleishli frendis, stoonys, eddris, and scorpionys, instide of þingis þat shulden fede þer soulis. For popis lawis ben harde as stoones, and hie prelacies ben eddris, and poweris or privyleges ben scorpionys to mannys soule" (Arnold II, 154).

"And git þei holden hem in here worldly office, and taken to hem moche of þe chirche goodis; and suffren not to goo to þe scole and lerne þe gospel, to governe

here parischenis, but halden hem in balies office, or stiwardis, or kechene clerkis, and suffren wolves of helle to strangule here parischenis soulis, bi dyverse synnes and harde customes, of veyn sweryng, lecherie and alle oþere vices" (Arnold III, 277).

"And here men noten many harmes þat freris don in þe Chirche. þei spuylen þe puple many weies by ipocrisie and oþer leesinges, and bi þis spuylyng þei bilden Caymes Castelis to harme of cuntries. þei stelen pore mennis children, þat is werse þan stele an oxe; and þei stellen gladlich eires,—Y leewe to speke of stelyng of wymmen; and þus þei maken londis bareyne for wiþ drawyng of werkmen, not al oonli in defaute of cornes, but in beesstis and oþer good" (Arnold III, 348).

Wyclif is rich in illustration. In sympathy with the powers of those he wished to win and convince, he is often homely and familiar:

"þe secounde traveile in þis vynegerde is to kitte well þe braunchis; and þe þridde traveile herof were to araile þes growyng vynes. Sum of þis perteynþ to God and sum is done bi mannis traveile. God himself makip þes vynes, and plantip hem in his gerde; for God makip trewe men, and gyvþ hem witt to bryng good fruyte; and prechours ben helpours of God, and delven aboute bi bileve, but God gyvþ þe growyng, al gif men planten and watren. . . . And so þes laborers have nede to delve aboute þes rotis, lest yvel eerbis grown þere, and bastard braunchis wiþouten bileve. þei ben dungid wiþ fyve wordis, þat seint Poul wolde teche þa puple. . . . þe railyng fallip to prelatis and oþer vikeris of God. . . . And so ech cristene man shulde helpe his vynegerde; for growyng of coolwortis and oþer wedis maken malencolie and oþer synnes, and gladen hem not, to wende to hevene, but maken hem hevy to falle to helle" (Arnold I, 100).

"And þus a mous etip not Cristis bodi, algif he ete þis sacrament; for þe mous failip goostli witt, to chewe in him þis bileve" (Arnold II, 170).

"But as Lucifer coveitide to have ful evenhed bi God, so Antichrist his viker wole be moost in worldly worship; but whan he is heirest, as smoke þan he shal vanishe away" (Arnold II, 365).

"And þus many daies comen as fast as ony tyme mai come, for þei comen not bodili, and þus hem nedip not to have feet. And git many þingis comen bodili þat walken not bi þer feet; as þe smytynge of þe stoon comeþ bodili but it walkip not" (Arnold II, 376).

"þei schulden fle dalyaunce wiþ wymmen, and dwellyng in privey placis, for it is hard to touche þo picche and not be foulid þerwiþ" (Arnold III, 167).

"And comynge inne of freris þat schulden quenche þis synne makip it mor fervent, as watir fier of smyþis" (Arnold III, 433).

In the effort to impress his readers, Wyclif is often severe and drastic in tone:

"But þe fend haþ stranglid þese houndis wiþ talwe, þat þei mai not berke" (Arnold I, 247).¹

"And so pseudo-clerkes, for her greet covertise, spuylen symple men as wolves doone sheepe; . . . and as the wolf wiþ zoulinge makip sheep to flokke for drede, so prelatiſ bi cursinges maken men to gadere hem and gyve þese prelatiſ goodis þat þei wolen have. And git þei hav anoþer cautel þat þese ypocritiſ usen: þei seien þat þei wolen gyven suffragies goostli to menis soulis þat passen al þis worldis good; and to coloure al þis ypocrisie þei, turnen her snowte to hevене, and seien þat God govun hem power to gyve pardone as þei wolen" (Arnold I, 200).

"And herfore biddip Crist in Matheu, þat his disciplis gyve not only þingis to houndis, ne scatere margarites amongis hogges. þes men in a manner ben houndis, þat ben þus hardid in synne þat after þe tyme þat þei have spued þei turnen agen and eeten þe spuynge" (Arnold II, 330).

"as þei maken curatis of many þousand soulis þei wolden not bitake kepyng of a fewe hoggis. . . þerfore þei setten more pride bi a fewe hoggis þan bi many þousand souls bougte with Cristis precieuse blood" (Arnold III, 318).

To make his prose interesting, Wyclif does not hesitate to call on the science of the day, or to use striking facts of contemporary history or even to adopt the strange knowledge of the Bestiaries and Lapidaries:

"We shall first wite þe kynde of salte, and siþ what properties it haþ. . . . Clerkis seien þat salt is maad of gravel and of water, wiþ hete of þe sonne or of fier, and maad hard with blast of þe wynd. And by Aristotlis reule it is dissolved bi þe contrarie. And so cold þing and moist dissolvyp salt, siþ hote þing and drie makip it hard" (Arnold I, 267).

"It is knowun to clerkes of þree þingis in þe þundir, þe ligthing and þe noise and þe þunder stoon. þe ligthinge is first in brekinge of cloudis, as if two stoones on a nygt weren knockid togider, and þis noise is maad of þis hard hurtling; but lig is more swift þan heeryng in perseyvyng, as sowne comeþ softe, but ligt comeþ soone; and þis is cause whi þat lig is perseyved bifore soun, and þus comeþ mannis lig bifore mannis heering. But þe þridde propirte þat fallip sum tyme in þundir is as it were a whirlewynd led aboute among cloudis, and comynge to þe erþe and doinge þere woundris; and þes men þat knowen þe worchinge of þe elementis, how manere of saltis and poudir fleeth flier, and worchip woundir bi craft in mevyng of currauntis, woundren lesse of þis þundir stoon. Sum tyme, it cleveþ grete okes in sundir, and sum tyme it meveþ grete stones fro her place; some tyme it moltip þe swerd in þe sheþe, and git þe sheþe is al hool, and many oþere woundiris; and al þis is maad bi a sutil mater þat is moved fro þe cloudis bi kynde of þe elementis" (Arnold I, 186).

¹ Cf. *The Ayenbite of Inwyt*, E. E. T. S. 23, p. 179:

"þe uerste is ssame. þet he ne dar nagt zigge his zenne uor ssame and þet deþ þe dyuel þet him get beuore þe ssame him uor to ssette þane mouþ. ase deþ þe byef þet þraup þane little bal in-to þe hondes þrote þet he ne ssel nagt berke."

"Clerkis seien þat margarites ben prescious stones founden in þe see wipin shellefishe ; and þei ben on two maneres : sum hoolid and sum hool. And margaritis ben a cordial medecine, and þei maken faire mennis atire, and conforten mennis hertis" (Arnold I, 286).

"An edder haþ þis witt ; whanne charmeris come to take him, þe toon of hise eeris he clappiþ to the erþe, and wiþ þe eende of his tail he stoppiþ þe toper. . . . And symplenesse of douves stondeþ in þis ; þei hav no clawis to figte as oper foulis, but whanne þei ben assailed of foulis of raveyne, þei tristen not to her owne strengþe, but fallen on stones, and þese haukis dreden þanne to smyte at hem, lest þei frushen her owne brest at þe hard stoon" (Arnold I, 201).

"Sum men seien þat locusta is a litil beest good to ete. Sum men seien it is an herbe þat gaderiþ hony upon him, but it is lieli þat it is an herbe þat mai nurishe men, þat þei clepen hony soukil ; but þis þing varieth in many contrees" (Arnold II, 5).

"Clerkis seyen þe see is salt, for þe kynde salt is þus gendrid ; whanne gravel is hatt wiþ þe sunne, and sokid longe wiþ þe watir, it takiþ kyndeli a savour þat men clepen saltnes. And herfore in summe londis han men salt for gravel. And siþ þe sec ebbiþ and flowiþ fro þe soup into þe norþ, it is needful þat salt be medlid wiþ manye sees, and not al ouuli wiþ sees, but wiþ watris where þe see flowiþ. . . . It is axid comounli whi floodis in lond ben not salt ; and here men seien comounly þat floodis and wellis ben salt whanne ful cause of saltness is founde in þes wellis, but þe see is comounly salt, for it takiþ moore þe ligt of hevene ; for it is moore, and neer hevene, and moore disposid to take ligt ; but bankis and manye opere causis letten flodis to take þus ligt" (Arnold III, 68).

"It is comounly seid þat a whal is þe moost fisch in þe see ; and so by þis greet fisch ben undirstonden alle opere fischis, boþe schel fische and scalid fisch or of what kynde þat evere þei ben. . . . But as beestis ben sotiler þan ben fischis in her schap, so þei ben moore venemouse, moore anoyouse unto man ; and þus fischis ben neer to elementis and more religious for to ete, þan ben foulis or beestis of erþe, for þei ben neer mannys kynde" (Arnold III, 69).

"For take a berille-ston, and holde it in a clear sonne, and so þat ston wol take hete of þe sonne, and þanne maist þou wiþ tendre gete fuyre of þat ston, to do þerwiþ what þe nedeth" (Arnold III, 102).¹

¹ These specimens will stand comparison with a few taken from the early Euphuistic *Golden boke of Marcus Aurelius*, Letter XIV :

"The Egiptiens saye, that whan the flode of Nyle ranne abrode, and watred the erthe, there abode certayne pieces cleuyng together lyke greace, and than the heate commynge in them created many wyld beastes : and so amonge them was founde the fyrste woman. Note ye ladyes, that it was necessarie, that the flode of the Nyle should flowe over his brymmes, that the fyrste woman might be made on erthe. All creatures are bredde in the entrailes of theyr mothers, excepte the woman that was bredde without a mother."

Let us leve the opynions of the Egyptians and come to the Grekes, whiche say, that in the desertes of Arabye the sonne shyneth moste hote : and they say, that at the begynnyng there appered a woman alone with a byrde called Phenyx, the whiche byrde they saye, was created of the water, and the woman of the great heate of the sonne, and of the corruption of the powdre that falleth fro the trees,

Some antithetical and balanced sentences show Wyclif's feeling for technique :

"And as many men in umbre seen betere þan men in greet ligt, so meke men in this ligt seen betere þan men in worldli lyȝt" (Arnold II, 150).

"He is not on Cristis side, þat puttid his soule for his sheepe, but on Anticristis side, þat puttid many soulis for his pryde" (Arnold II, 254).

"for þei chargen more a litil þing þat sowneþ to wynnyng of hem, þan a myche more þing þat sowneþ to worchip of God" (Arnold II, 383).

"For sum men seien þat here is þe pope in Avynoun, for he was well chosen ; and sum men seien þat he is gundir at Rome, for he was first chosen" (Arnold II, 402).

"ffor as Crist chargiþ more mennes dedis þanne her wordis, so he chargiþ more vertues þanne worldlyche fame" (Arnold III, 251).

"Confession generally is knowlechyng made wiþ wille ; and sum confession is made wiþoute synne, and sum in knowlechyng of synne ; & boþe þise two ben goode in man, but þe first is more wortþe in crist" (Matthew, p. 327).

"Two virtues ben in mannes soule by whyche a man shuld be rewled ; hoolynesse in mannes wille, & good kunnyng in his witt. hoolynesse shuld put out synne, & good kunnyng shuld put out folý ; but as wille haþ principalite to-fore witt of mannes soule, so hoolynesse is more worþe þenne is kunnyng of synful man" (Matthew, p. 327).

"and if a man þat sloug a lord shulde be hanged for his depe, more shulde þat leche þat sloug a mannes soule be hanged of god for his folý" (Matthew, p. 336).

In the prose of Wyclif we miss the note of direct address, so characteristic of Richard Rolle. The Saviour, bleeding from many wounds, was always present to Richard Rolle, inciting him to terms of endearment. The following passage may serve to show the difference in nature between Rolle and Wyclif. Rolle could not be so calm and unimpassioned :

"þe cros, þe place, and þe tyme aggregiden þe peyne of Crist ; and unkyndnesse of his kynde, and moost synne of hem þat slown him. And so þis lomb gaf his blood, þat is in three places of man. And first he gaf his blood bi scourging, þat was in þe fleish of Crist ; siþ he gaf his blood of veynes, in his feet and in his hondis ; but last he gaf blood of his herte, þat holdiþ moost preshious blood" (Arnold II, 130).

whiche the wormes do eate. In this wyse there was a tree soore eaten with wormes, and it chaunced by heate of the sonne, and dryth of the powder, that a fyre kendled, and soo brennte it : and than of the fyre and powder of the sayd brent tree, the fyrste woman was made" (Cf. *Diall of Princes*, Cap. LXVIII).

"The sonne with his shynynge beames dothe parche the fleshe of the people of Ethiope bycause hit is nere unto them : and contrary wise it doothe no greefe to theyr persones that inhabite in the ende of Europe : for bycause it toucheth them afarre of" p. 23.

It was a matter of temperament and of purposes in life. Rolle the mystic, with strong lyric feeling, out of sympathy with the Scholastics, rarely tried to win by argument, while Wyclif the Reformer, trained in the schools, logician and fighter, was argumentative in the extreme. His prose viewed in its entirety is terse and vigorous, not weakened by excessive use of artificialities or ornamental devices. Alliteration and other figures of similarity in sound rarely occur. Apart from this, Wyclif shows some feeling for other stylistic features that are characteristic of later English prose in its more artificial periods.

(4.) *Chaucer and the Boethius.*¹

Concerning the prose of Chaucer it may be said, that there is not enough that is original to admit of close study from the viewpoint of prose growth and development. It cannot be shown that Chaucer was especially interested in English prose as prose, for there are few evidences of a desire to adorn, of a wish to be free and unhampered. We never feel that he is indulging in prose with the zest and pleasure of one who loves prose.

Whatever an extended study of his prose and its influence may reveal, it seems highly improbable that the statement of Sedgefield,²

¹ W. W. Skeat, *Boethius and Troilus* (Vol. II of Oxford Chaucer), Oxford, 1894.

² Cf. W. J. Sedgefield, *King Alfred's Version of the Consolations of Boethius. Done into Modern English with an Introduction*, Oxford, 1900, p. xxxiii :

"Geoffrey Chaucer in the beginning of his literary career devoted much of his time to translation, and felt himself obliged, in the course of his work, to transplant hundreds of Norman-French words into his own tongue. By this means he made English a more complete instrument than he found it ; and in his literal translation of the *Consolation of Philosophy* he laid the foundations of an English philosophical prose."

Cf. Caroline Pemberton, *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings*, E. E. T. S. 113, p. xiv :

"It may be observed that Chaucer's translation is much longer than that of the Queen, and that the chief differences between the two translations are in the orthography, which undoubtedly also implies a change in pronunciation. Some of the obsolete words used by Chaucer have in the Queen's rendering given place to others which still survive, such as : *delyé, snalist, perdurable, lasting, elde, age*. On the other hand we find, contrary to expectation, the modern words in Chaucer's translation and the obsolete ones in that of Elizabeth, such as : *clothes (wides), shrunk (skanted)* ; which proves that the ancient word and the modern one were used indifferently for several centuries."

that in the *Boethius* "he laid the foundations of an English philosophical prose," will be substantiated.

With so fine and inspiring a text it is surprising that Chaucer did not make more of it. Norden says,¹ "In durchaus klassischem Stil von einer geradezu bewundernswerten Reinheit ist endlich das edelste Werk des ausgehenden Altertums geschrieben, die *Consolatio des Boethius*. Es ist ausnahmsweise keine Phrase, wenn ihn Ennodius in zwei briefen an ihn mit den *veteres* vergleicht. Der Schwung der Gedanken lässt ihn als Verehrer Platons, der Schwung der Sprache als Verehrer Ciceros erkennen." Its very numerous and aptly employed allusions, drawn from the wealth of classical lore and mythology, gave Chaucer in small compass just what the Euphuists read volumes to find. Passages abound which suggest Lyly in their succession of illustrative examples, but Chaucer had not caught the trick of giving them the form which would enhance their force and beauty :

"For sum man hath grete richesses, but he is ashamed of his ungentel linage ; and som is renowned of noblesse of kinrede, but he is enclosed in so grete anguisse of nede of thinges, that him were lever that he were unknowe. And som man haboundeth both in richesse and noblesse, but yit he bewaileth his chaste lyf, for he ne hath no wyf. And som man is wel and selily y-mariwed, but he hath no children, and norisseth his richesses to the eyres of strange folkes. And som man is gladed with children, but he wepeth ful sory for the trespass of his sone or of his doughter" (Book II, Prose IV).

"And the iangelinge brid that singeth on the heye braunches, *that is to seyn in the wode*, and after is enclosed in a streyt cage : al-though that the pleyinge bisnesse of men yeveth hem honiede drinkes and large metes with swete studie, yit natheles, yif thilke brid, skipinge out of hir streyte cage, seeth the agreables shadewes of the wodes, she defouleth with hir feet hir meetes y-shad, and seketh mourninge only the wode ; and twitereth, desiringe the wode, with hir swete vois. The yerde of a tree, that is haled a-doun by mighty strengthe, boweth redily the crop a-doun ; but yif that the hand of him that it bente lat it gon ayein, anon the crop loketh up-right to hevene. The sonne Phebeus, that falleth at even in the westrene wawes, retorneth, ayein eftsones his carte, by privee path there as it is wont aryse. Alle thinges seken ayein to hir propre cours, and alle thinges reioysen hem of hir retorninge ayein to hir nature" (Book III, Metre II).²

¹ E. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert V. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1898, vol. II, 585.

² This passage, in the translation by George Colville, or Coldewel, dedicated to Queen Mary in 1556, and therefore antedating the *Dial of Princes*, reads :

"Likewise the syngyng byrde that syngeth upon the hygh bowghes in the

“For wherfor elles bereth lightnesse the flaumbes up, and the weichte presseth the erthe a-doun, but for as moche as thilke places and thilke moevinges ben convenable to everich of hem? And forsothe every thing kepeth thilke that is acordinge and propre to him, right as thinges that ben contraries and enemys corompen hem. And yit the harde thinges, as stones, clyven and holden hir parties to-gider right faste and harde, and defenden hem in withstondinge that they ne departe nat lightly a-twinne. And the thinges that ben softe and fletinges as is water and eyr, they departen lightly, and yeven place to hem that breken or devyden hem; but natheles, they retornen sone ayein in-to the same thinges fro whennes they ben arraced. But fyr fleeth and refuseth al devisioun” (Book III, Prose XI).

The two examples just quoted we shall compare with a section taken from the *Euphues*:

“It is proper for the Palme tree to mounte, the heauyer yon loade it the higher it sprowteth. Though yron be made softe with fire it returneth to his hardnes, though the Fawlcen be reclaimed to the fist she retyreth to hir haggardnes, the whelpe of a Mastife will never be taught to retriue the Partridge, education can haue no shew, where the excellencie of nature doth beare sway. The silly Mouse will by no manner of meanes be tamed, the subtil Foxe may well be beaten, but never broken from stealing his pray . . . plante and translate the crabbe tree, where and whensoever it please you and it will neuer beare sweet apple, unlesse you graft by Arte, which nothing toucheth nature. . . . Doe you not knowe that whiche all men doe affirm and knowe, that blacke will take no other colour? . . . That fire cannot be forced downewarde? That Nature will have course after kinde?” (Bond I, p. 191).

Portions of the *Boethius* in didactic tone, and in abundance of illustration and set arguments, have a tantalizing way of suggesting the *Euphues*. This may be merely additional proof of how

woode, if she be taken and put into a straye cage, although the dilygent cure of men delytynge in her, geueth her swete drinkes and dyuers meates wyth plesant labour: yet yf she chaunse to escape out of the strayt cage and seith the plesant shadowes of the woodes, beyng sorye of her strayt kepyng, ouerthrowith her metes and treadeth them under her fete and flyethe unto the woodes, and there syngeth, and warbleth with swete notes and songs. Also the sprigge or bough of a tree by greate vyolence made croked boweth downe the toppe, but when the hand of him that boweth it letteth it go at lyberte, it holdeth the toppe upryght towarde heuen, that is to sai: it returnyth to his olde naturall course. The sonne lykewyse that at euen before night fallyth (as the poets faine) into the westernne waters: by a secrete path retourneth his charyot, to his accustomed rysing. So that all thynges naturall do returne and come agayne, to their naturall courses. And all natural things reioyseth at theyr returne to their owne nature.” Quoted from Sedgfield, op. cit. p. xxxix.

great the debt of the Euphuists was to Latin literature. It does show that at least one fine model was accessible to the fourteenth century. With the *Boethius* before him a translator, loving prose and handling it with pleasure and boldness, could have come dangerously close to Euphuism. An imitator, with bent to equal or to outdo it, in its features so suggestive of the Euphuistic rhetoric, would have come closer. Usk learned much from the *Boethius*. He at least imitated its fondness for heaping illustrative allusions. Richard Rolle, handling alliteration so well and being so inclined to rhythm, would have given a more polished, more artificial translation, decidedly Euphuistic in tone. Why Chaucer was so slavish is not evident. But with Chaucer, as with Elizabeth, close translation was the primary aim; to construct more than ordinary prose was secondary.

It may be of interest to compare some brief passages taken from Chaucer's *Boethius* with some taken from the translation by Elizabeth,¹ who wrote in 1593, fifteen years after the first edition of the *Euphuus* and just at the close of the vogue for its highly artificial style. At times we find Elizabeth translating neatly and keeping close to the main feature of the prose fashion of the period; at other times she is even less artificial than Chaucer:

CHAUCER.

"Yif god is, whennes comen wikkede thinges? And if god ne is, whennes comen gode thinges?" (Book I, Prose IV).

"But sey me this: sin that thou ne doutest nat that this world be governed by god, with whiche governailes takes-tow hede that it is governed?" (Book I, Prose VI).

"maketh that the menaces of Fortune ne ben nat for to dreden, ne the flateringes of hir to ben desired" (Book II, Prose I).

"Yif thou committest and bitakest thy sailes to the winde, thou shalt be shoven, not thider that thou woldest, but whider that the wind shoveth thee" (Book II, Prose I).

ELIZABETH.

"Yf there be a god," quoth he, "whence coms the euill? The good from whence yf he be not?"

"But tell me, for that thou doutst not the world by god be rulde, seest thou by what raynes it is guided?"

"nether makes her fortunes threatens feard, nor her beguylinges wisched."

"Yf thou woldst throwe the sayles to wynde, not whither will wolde, but whither the blast doth dryve, so furr thou goest."

¹ E. E. T. S., 113.

CHAUCER.

"Richesses, ben they precious by the nature of hem-self, or elles by the nature of thee?" (Book II, Prose v).

"For certes, swiche is the condicioun of alle mankinde, that only whan it hath knowinge of it-selve, than passeth it in noblesse alle other thinges; and whan it forleteth the knowinge of itself, than is it brought binethen alle beestes (Book II, Prose v).

"For neither they ne ioigen hem nat alwey to goode men, ne maken hem alwey goode to whom that they ben y-ioigned" (Book II, Prose vi).

"first whan I loste my memorie by the contagious coniunccioun of the body with the sowle; and eftsones afterward, whan I loste it, confounded by the charge and by the burdene of my sorwe" (Book III, Prose xii).

"Scornest thou me" quod I; "*or elles pleyest thou or deceivest thou me*, that hast so woven me with the house of Dedalus, so entrelaced that it is unable to be unlaced; thou that other-whyle entrest ther thou issest, and other-whyle issest ther thou entrest" (Book III, Prose xii).

"Seestow nat thanne in how grete filthe thise shrewes ben y-wrapped, and with which cleernesse thise good folk shynen? In this sheweth it wel, that to goode folk ne lakketh never-mo hir medes, ne shrewes lakken never-mo tormentes" (Book IV, Prose iii).

ELIZABETH.

"Are riches eyther thyne, or by their nature pretious?"

"For this is the state of humayn nature, that then it excedes all other, whan itself if knowes, but is made baser than very beastes, if to know it self it leave."

"who eyther never accompanyes the good, nor makes them good whom she is nearest."

"First, when memory I lost, thorow bodyes syn, next, prest with sorowes burden."

"Do you dally with me" quoth I, "& wrap me in undooing laberinth of Reason, in which thou entrest in, whence thou wentst out, & goest out where thou camst in."

"See you not in what a great slowe, wicked thinges be wrapt in, & with how great a light, godlynes shynith? by which tis playne, that never reward wantes to good, nor punishment to wicked folke."

When both translations are studied with reference to the quality of the prose, that of Chaucer's compares well with the work of Elizabeth, living when the feeling for good, finished prose was at its height. Both failed to realize what might have been derived from so fine an original; both failed to produce a work truly representative of the prose of the times.

(5.) *The Ayenbite of Inwyt.*

In a study of Early English prose based on survivals and anticipations in style, the Kentish *Ayenbite of Inwyt*,¹ though also a translation, is of far greater interest than the prose work of Chaucer. In this monument, we find artificialities in startling similarity to those usually considered the especial marks and properties of the sixteenth century Euphuism. More extended notice of one of these, the use of fabulous natural history, is reserved for another chapter.

Its similarity in contents to the *Parson's Tale* is so suggestive that its Old French original, the *La Somme des Vices et des Vertus*, has generally been considered the source of Chaucer's work. A recent monograph,² however, gives conclusive proof that the ultimate source of the *Parson's Tale* goes back, not to the *Somme*, but "to a thirteenth century tract by Raymund on Penitence, supplemented by another of the same century, by Peraldus, dealing with the Seven Deadly Sins." There is enough similarity, however, between the *Somme*, the *Parson's Tale* and the two Latin tracts to show that the *Somme*, in the main, must be traced ultimately to Latin sources. The point is of value when one of the marked stylistic features of the *Ayenbite*, the use of antithesis, is taken into account. We find the same debt to classic and patristic Latin which has caused the decided similarity in some points of style between Middle English prose and that of the sixteenth century. It is only additional proof that the movement which culminated in Euphuism had its beginnings "back of Guevara and before the Renaissance."³

¹ E. E. T. S. 23.

² Kate O. Petersen, *The Sources of the Parson's Tale*, Radcliffe College Monographs, No. 12, Boston, 1901, p. 78.

"Moreover, I believe that there is evidence to justify the conclusions: (1) that the source of the *Parson's Tale*, in general, is a Latin tract by Raymund of Pennaforte, written at least thirty-six years before the *Somme* of Lorens, and affording not only the general structure of the *P. T.*, but also a considerable part of its phraseology; and (2) that the digression on the Seven Deadly Sins is not an adaptation of Lorens' work, but rather of the *Summa seu Tractatus de Viciis* of Gulielmus Peraldus, which was also written several years before the *Somme*." *Ibid.* p. 2.

³ C. G. Child, *John Lyly and Euphuism*, Münchener Beiträge zur rom. und eng. Philologie VII, p. 121.

A few citations may serve to show its noticeable stylistic peculiarity, the frequency of antithetical constructions, and the grouping of illustrative examples, usually drawn from the familiar actualities of daily life :

“þe ilke þet couaytse ledeþ habbeþ zuyche mesure : ase þe pors wyle. þet is ltheudi and hotestre of þe house. þanne ssolle we betuene þe porse and þe wombe of þe glotoune : habbe a uayr strif. þe wombe zayþ. ‘ich wylle by uol.’ þe purs zayþ ‘ich wylle by uol.’ þe wombe zayþ ‘ich wylle þt þou ete. and drinke and þet þou despendi.’ And þe purs zayþ : þou ne sselt nagt. ich wille þet þou loki and wyþ drage. Allas huet ssel he do þes wreche þet is þrel to zuyche tuaye kueade lhordes. Tuo mesures makeþ he wygte ymad. þe mesure of wombe in oþremanne house guode and large. And þe mesure of the purse of his. þet is zorȝuol and scarce” (p. 53).

“þanne zuych uolc byeþ ase is þet child þet loueþ more ane sseawere : þanne ane kingdom. en eppel : þanne al his kende. Ac uirtue yefþ grat herte arigt. uor uirtue makeþ wynne heuene : and onworþi þe worlde. grat berdone of penonce to bere. and alle þe kueades of þe worlde onderbere. and gledliche þolye. and uor god to leste to alle þe asaylinges of þe dyeule wydstonde. And ase zayþ þe wyse seneke. Nagt ne habbeþ more of mygte aye uirtues kueade mysfalles and zorges ne al þet fortune may þreapny an do : more þanne þer byeþ dropen of rayni ine þe ze. Virtue makeþ man hardi ase lyoun. strang ase olyfont. stedeuest and lestinde ase þe zonne þet alneway yernþ and ne is neure wery. þanne þer ne is prowesse : bote virtue” (p. 84).

“Vor þe more þet þe herte is clene and þe uayrer : zuo moche he yzygt þe face of Iesu crist þe more openliche. and þe more þet he his yzyȝþ openliche : þe more he him loueþ þe stranglaker. þe more he him likneþ propreliche” (p. 88).

“And þeruore þe wyse and þe holy man ine þise worlde ine al þet hi zyeþ and smackeþ of þe guodes lostfolle of þise worlde : heryeþ god. and þe more wylneþ þe loue of him. and þe more þet hy zyeþ þe zuete dropes : þe more hy wylneþ to come to þe welle. And þeruore þet hi wyteþ wel þet þe more me loueþ þane dropes : þe more me uor-yet þe welle. and þe more þet lykeþ þe zuetnesse of þe worlde : þe lesse me wylneþ þe zuetnesse of god” (p. 92).

“He is ase þe smale ulege þet makeþ þet hony. and beulyȝþ stench. and zekþ þe ueldes yfloured. and of þe floures zoueþ þane deau huerof hi makeþ þet hony uor his hous to astori” (p. 136).

“Hit is ase hit is of þe litel childe þet is þe kinges zone and eyr of þe kingriche þet weþþ ine his crete. and nagt ne kan of his hegnesse ne of his richesse. He is ase þet simple ssep. ine huam al hit is guod and profitable. and wolles. and skin. and uless. and melk. and frut. and dong. and ne wenþ and ne kan nagt. ne nagt ne þengþ” (p. 137).

“Prede loueþ wel heȝe stedes. Mildenesse : þe loge. þis is þe dyamod of noble kende. þet nele nagt sitte ine gold. ac ine poure metal ase yzen. And zuo hit is of þe hyeape of huete y-þorsse. þe cornes byeþ beneþe and þet chef a-boue. Ac oure lhord ssel uanni his corn ate daye of dome ase zayþ þet godspel. and ssel þrawe þet chef in-to þe uere : and þet corn into þe greynere. þe more þet þet

gold is clenþ : þe more hit wecþ, and þe more þet hit is heui : þe rapre hit ualþ to þe botme" (p. 140).

"þe uerste stape of loue aze zayþ saynt bernard is huanne þe man ne can naȝt louie : bote him-zelue and his ogene guod. þe oþer huanne he beginþ god to louie ac hit is uor his ogene guod. þe þridde huanne he knauþ betere god and him loueþ propreliche uor his guodnesse. þe uerþe huanne he is zuo ynome of þe holy loue þet he ne louie ne him-zelue ne god : (guod?) bote uor god" (p. 144).

"Vor tribulacion : maketh pacience. Ase zayþ zaynte paul. ase þet uer : maketh the tegele hard. Wyb-oute þise uirtue non ne is y-proued. ne þet gold ne may by wyb-oute uer y-clensed. wyb-oute pacience : non ne heþ uictorie. Vor huo þet lyst pacience : he is ouercome. wyb-oute pacience : non ne comþ to perfeccion. perof me yzeþ uorbisne ate leste in alle þe mestyeres þet me deþ mid hand. Moche þoleþ þe coupe of gold of strokes of yzen erþan hi by yzet ope þet bord of þe kinge. and þe chalis er ha by yblissid and y-zet ope þane weued. Moche þoleþ þe tonne of greate strokes er me do þrin þet guode wyn. Mochel is defouled mit þe uet of uolleres þe robe of scarlet erþan þet þe kuen his do an. And ase uele migt þou to þan vinde uorbisnes : ase þer byeþ workmen at paris of alle mestyeres. Be þise uirtue is strang þe man ase þet ysen þet alle metals a-daunteþ. Of grat prise ase þet gold þet þe more hit is ine uere : þe more hit is clene and clyer and trefable. ase þe salamandre þet leueþ ine þe uere. and ase þe viss þet ine þe þrauailinde wetere : him baþeþ and norisseþ" (p. 167).

"Ac þe couaytouse of þe worlde : þe more þet hi habbeþ þe lesse hi habbeþ. huo þet mest heþ of mayné and mest him faileþ of mete. and þet mest heþ hors : mest him fayleþ gromes and stablen" (p. 210).

"Ine helle þou ssel [t] yzi mo zorges : þanne me moȝe deuisy. Ine purgatorie mo tormens þanne me moȝe þolye. Ine paradys more blisse þanne me moȝe wynly. Helle þe ssel teche hou god awrekþ dyadlych zenne. Purgatorie : þe ssel seawy hou god clenzeþ veniel zenne. Iue heuene þou ssel zyz openliche hou uirtues and guode dedes : byeþ hegliche yolde" (p. 73).

"Efterwar[d] huerof. Saynt austin zayþ. uor þet me deþ uor te beuly þane dyap of þe bodie : me ssel do uor to askapie þane dyap of þe zaule" (p. 172).

"Vor þe ilke þet is dronke is zuo y-nom of wyn : þet he lyst skele and onder-standinge and is ase adrayngt ine wyin. and huanne he wenþ drinke þet wyn : þet wyn dryngþ him" (p. 248).

A few sentences from Child, showing the importance of this monument, may fittingly close these brief notes. He says (p. 121) :

"There is notable difference between a mere heaping together of homilies or tractates upon the virtues and a work like Loren's which taking the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Commandments as its scheme or skeleton, endeavors to furnish its readers with a complete body of faith, apparatus of religion, and manual of conduct. Narrative composition naturally takes care of itself in a rough way as regards the matter of formal unity, but the attainment of it in didactic works was immensely more difficult. . . . Works like Loren's must be regarded as the exercises in plain hand preparatory for the flourishes of the Guevaras of a later day."

(6.) *Conclusion.*

We shall give here no detailed notes on the prose of the writer known as Maundeville. In another chapter, however, will be found some account of its best-known artificialty, the fondness for allusions from unnatural natural history,—a stylistic feature which his period has in common with the prose of the sixteenth century. It is much the fashion to consider English prose style as beginning with Maundeville.¹ Snell says (p. 359), that his book of travels “is the first attempt in English to handle prose as Chaucer handles verse—with freedom and independence.” Even though that be granted his prose cannot be submitted to the artistic tests which may be applied to that of the earlier, more original, Richard Rolle. A more suggestive opinion on Maundeville’s prose is by Dr. Garnett, who says (p. 201), “As Mr. Pollard observes, his pre-eminence among prose writers of his day arises not so much from actual superiority of talent as from the application of his talent to themes of more human and practical interest than prose had hitherto essayed, and admitting of treatment in a more agreeable style. It may be added that if he had been really an English writer his prose would probably not have been so decidedly in advance of his contemporaries, but that his translators were able to progress by emulating a degree of refinement not yet attained by their own language.”

Though the quantity of prose in the fourteenth century is not large when compared with the amount of verse, there is sufficient to lead to some definite judgment as to the style and its theory. Such judgment would become more comprehensive through successive studies of individual authors and monuments. One difficulty lies in the fact that the texts cannot well be compared with each other. Each one seems to stand out as peculiar to itself, but this distinctness need not prevent us from forming views on the more technical points of style. It is, however, this meagreness in well-defined fields that hinders comparison on the broader view of intellectuality, or in the methods of handling similar subjects.

¹ Cf. Saintsbury, quoted *ante* p. 11.

Had Chaucer, so susceptible to foreign models, written an original narration in prose, we might compare him with Maundeville. As it is his *Parson's Tale* may, in part, be compared with the *Ayenbite of Inwyrt*, but it is only because both are translations of works similar in thought and purpose, and doubtless largely indebted to the same sources. There are no other *Meditations* like those of Richard Rolle, nor does Rolle ever preach formal sermons as does Wyclif. Rolle is never so argumentative as Wyclif or Usk, but Usk's prose has little to distinguish it save its capriciousness and obscurity, while Wyclif's is clear and forcible. Rolle's prose stands out as the more beautiful and the more original, showing the most conscious art in its formation. When reading the various pieces in succession, one is impressed at once by the higher level of the Rolle specimens. It is the manner that appeals most, while in Wyclif it is the matter, showing the man and his work for the times. Chaucer's translations, with their monotonous repetitions, are of interest mainly because they are his. Rolle in his translations seeks variety; with him repetition is for strength, for adornment. Much in Usk's *Testament of Love* is almost beyond comprehension. He creates the impression, perhaps the strongest in the century, that he is earnestly trying to form a style and to produce literature, but the effort is so encumbered by the abundance of rhetoric that the product is, on the whole, repelling. Imagination and vocabulary runs away with him, allowing little thought for precision or consistency of plan and form. In no point is he the equal of Rolle, whose work is always characterized by a restraint that kept the final purpose of his prose ever in mind.

Rolle cannot be compared with Maundeville mainly because their subjects are not of similar nature. His simple, revealing passages of narration are good,¹ but too brief for study with

¹ Cf. e. g. the *Narracio*, Horstman I, 192:

"When I hade taken my synfulere purpose & lefte þe seculere habyte, and I begane mare to serue god þan mane, it felle one a nyghte als I lay in my ryste, in the begynnynge of my conuersyone, þare appered to me a full faire yonge womane þe whilke I had sene be-fore & þe whylke luffed me noght lytill in gude lufe. And whene I had behaldyne hyre and I was wondyrde why scho com swa on nyghte in þe wyldyrnes: sodanly, with-owtynne any mare speche, scho laid hire besyde me. And whene þat I felyd hir thare, I dred þat scho sulde drawe

Maundeville's. With Maundeville as with Wyclif it is mostly the subject-matter that holds one's interest. He has good stories to tell, and these will always find him readers, but his prose shows few traces of conscious efforts at adornment, while Rolle's always does. That Rolle writes with care is evident from his fine specimens of balance and antithesis and from his effective use of alliteration. The abrupt manner of stating his points in the opening sentences of his treatises may hardly be rated a defect, when their peculiar nature is considered. His chapters are logical, his paragraphs in the main well constructed, and his sentences, of good average length, follow each other smoothly. Only when he is willingly epigrammatical is there abruptness.

Much of Rolle's prose is such as was evidently intended for repeated oral reading, for the appeal to the ear is so insistent that we feel the eager, constant effort at oratory. First the outward sense was to be satisfied, and to bring this about the tangible devices in the older prose, devices which stood out so clearly that imitation seemed easy, were brought into practice. There was little regard for that inner sense by which we judge prose as good or bad, often without being able to say why it is good or bad. It was too early for imitation of the more subtle prose effects, those which come when the writer creates from within. First came the admiration for the striking means of decoration,—word figures, figures of similarity in sound, forms of sentences that stand out sharply, bits of science and animal lore. To choose and use them well marked a further stage. Finally, a stage is reached when the effort is made to construct sentences which show more than one artificiality, the one setting off the other.

me to Iuell, and said þat I wald ryse & blysse us in þe name of þe haly trynytee. And scho strenyde me so stallworthely þat I had no mouthe to speake, ne no hande to styrre. And whene I sawe þat, I perceyuede wele þare was na womane bot þe deuell in schappe of womane. Therefore I turnede me to gode and with my mynde I said : 'A Jhesu, how precyous es thi blude !' makand þe crosse with my fyngere in my breste : and alls faste scho wexe wayke & sodanly all was awaye : and I thankked gode þat delyuerd me. & sothely fra þat tyme furthe I forced me for to luf Jhesu, and ay þe mare I profette in þe luf of Ihesu, þe swetter I fand it, & to þis daye it went noghte fra my mynde. Therefore, blysside be þe name of Jhesu in the worlde of worldes !"

That we have a progressive effort at the formation of style in the fourteenth century must be admitted, for in each monument we find portions, very good in their peculiar way, impressing us with the conscious desire to produce a style. Viewed from the point of stylistic artificialities then in vogue, the prose of Richard Rolle in its restraint, originality and design, offers the most favorable starting point for study which may in time lead up to a proper view of the prose technique of the period.

II. ELEMENTS OF THE PROSE STYLE OF RICHARD ROLLE.

(1.) *Sentence Structure.*

For the study of Richard Rolle's prose style the following texts, assumed as authentic because of their general agreement in language and style, have been chosen ; these are all printed in Horstman's first volume :

- (1) *The Form of Perfect Living*, Ms. Dd. V. 64.
- (2) *Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat*, Ms. Cambr. Dd. V. 64.
- (3) *The Commandment of Love to God*, Ms. Cambr. Ll. I. 8.
- (4) *Meditatio de Passione Domini*, Ms. Cambr. Ll. I. 8.
- (5) *Meditatio de Passione Domini*, Cambr. Addit. 3042.
- (6) *On Prayer*, Ms. Thornton.
- (7) *Meditation on the Passion, and of Three Arrows of Doomsday*, Ms. Rawl.
- (8) *On Grace*, Ms. Arundel 507.
- (9) *Our daily work*, Ms. Arundel 507.
- (10) *Narracio : A tale þat Rycherde hermet [made]*, Ms. Thornton.
- (11) *Moralia Richardi heremite de natura apis, unde quasi apis argumentosa*, Ms. Thornton.

Special attention will be given to the artificial tone of Richard Rolle's style, to those peculiarities resembling and anticipating the rhetoric of the Euphuists. It will be seen that in some particulars the likeness between his style and Euphuism is marked, and an attempt shall be made to account for these agreements.

It must be assumed that Euphuism is analyzable; that it is so constituted as to be capable of being "reduced to its component parts." There was synthesis, and hence there may be analysis. This distinctness of character, however, does not lessen the difficulty of forming a set definition,¹ which in few words might express just what is meant by Euphuism. The attempt of Landmann (p. 23) may be cited in proof of this difficulty :

"Wenn wir nun noch einmal die charakteristischen Merkmale des Euphuismus zusammenfassen, so finden wir dieselben in der eigentümlichen Kombination der Antithese mit der Alliteration, der Assonanz, dem Reim und dem Wortspiel, in der Konformität und Korrespondenz paralleler Sätze, der Häufung rhetorischen Figuren wie Klimax, rhetorischen Fragen, Einwänden welche er selbst beantwortet, Wiederholung desselben Gedankens in anderer Form, ferner in den Anspielungen aus dem Altertum und Vergleichen aus dem täglichen Leben, nebst der Vorliebe für Gleichnisse aus der Naturgeschichte durch Heranziehung seltener Objekte

¹ The following definitions are ingenious, but far from accurate when applied to Euphuism in its development from Berners to Lyly :

J. J. Jusserand, *The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, London, 1890, p. 107 :

"Since it is not a natural product, but the mere result of ingenious artifices, nothing is easier than to reduce it to its component parts, to take it to pieces, so to speak. It consists in an immoderate, prodigious, monstrous use of similes so arranged as to set up antithesis in every limb of the sentence. What is peculiar to the English imitators, is the employment of alliteration in order to better mark the balance of the sentences written for effect. Finally, the kind of similes even has something peculiar : they are for the most part borrowed from an imaginary ancient history and a fantastic natural history, a sort of mythology of plants and stones to which the most extraordinary virtues are attributed."

J. A. Symonds, *Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama*, London, 1884, p. 512 :

"Euphuism . . . may be defined as a literary style used by Lyly in his prose works and adopted into the language of polite society. It is characterized by a superficial tendency to allegory by the abuse of easy classical erudition ; by a striving after effect in puns, conceits, and plays on words ; by antithesis of thought and diction carried to a wearisome extent, and enforced by alliteration and parisonic use of language ; and finally by sententious prolixity in the display of commonplace reflections. Lyly's euphuism is further and emphatically distinguished by the reckless employment of an unreal natural history for the purpose of illustration. This constitutes what may be termed the keynote of his affectation. . . ."

mit wunderbaren Eigenschaften. Dagegen finden wir keine Übertreibung der Diktion an phantastischen Bildern, allzu kühnen poetischen Hyperbelen und Personifikationen; mit anderen Worten, der Euphuismus ist eine geschmacklose Übertreibung im Gebrauche von rhetorischen Figuren, nicht Tropen."

Romanticism in literature, for example, presents a similar difficulty of definition. With this, as with Euphuism, the fashion to fasten on one or another peculiarity has misled many in their efforts at definition, though there is far less reason for this with Euphuism, which is consistent in its adherence to particular features. The elements of Romanticism and of Euphuism, though diffused to a greater or less degree in all periods, only become realized with consistency and completeness at favorable epochs. Therefore, with due regard for the proper use of the term, we may speak of Euphuistic elements in this or that period or author. It is no more paradoxical to speak of Euphuistic elements in Early English prose than it is to consider Euripides the first Romanticist.¹ The marked subjective attitude of Euripides toward nature resembles that attitude which with the Romanticists came to be a recognized convention. In like manner, what came to be the individual marks of Euphuism may be detected in Early English prose, where, though they have not the sanction of formal conventions, they are nevertheless used in much the same manner and spirit as by the Euphuists. It was not until the growing tendency toward a distinguishing style was definitely stimulated by translations, notably from the Spanish, that these very features came into gradual favor again and ultimately reached the extreme refinement of use characteristic of Pettie and Lyly. With the style of the leading Euphuists, but more especially with that of Lyly, it is proposed to measure the prose of Richard Rolle. He uses antithesis, parison, balance, alliteration. Rolle's style must be con-

¹ Cf. H. R. Fairclough, *The Attitude of the Greek Tragedians toward Nature*, Toronto, 1897, p. 34:

"Euripides is the first of the romanticists." In a foot-note he refers to Butcher, "Dawn of Romanticism in Greek Poetry," in *Some Aspects of Greek Genius*, "He was in fact the first of the sentimental poets, and the forerunner of modern romanticism."

sidered as at least Euphuistic in tendency, and were it two centuries later, there would be no hesitation in considering it so. "Euphuismus, euphuistisch im strengsten Sinne des Wortes," Wendelstein¹ (p. 1) observes, "ist die individuelle Stilart Lyly's. Euphuisierend aber wird man mit Recht das Werk nennen welches das eine oder andere rhetorische Hilfsmittel in der von Lyly markant ausgeprägten Art enthält, also um die Sache concret zu fassen, wo man die Lyly'sche Alliteration, wo man die Lyly'schen Vergleiche aus der Naturgeschichte oder dem Altertum, wo man Lyly's Antithese oder Parallelismus findet, wird die Bezeichnung euphuisierend am Platze sein." In his opening chapter Wendelstein endeavors to show that some of the accepted features of Euphuism, particularly alliteration, must be considered as having long been present in English prose. He notes (p. 4) appearances in Caxton's *Charles the Grete* 1485,² of assonance and rime, and then traces the growth in the use of certain of the pronounced marks of Euphuism in the authors preceding and contemporaneous with Lyly. This view of the early presence in our prose of traits Euphuistic in character was suggested by Child (p. 121) when he showed occurrences in

¹ L. Wendelstein, *Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Euphuismus*, Halle, 1902.

² In his first chapter (Volkstümliche Elemente—Klang-figuren), Wendelstein is especially concerned with the appearance and use of figures depending on similarity in sound in the sixteenth century, as his summary of results (p. 30) may show :

"Überschaut man das vorhergehende nochmals kurz und zieht daraus die sich ergebenden Schlüsse, so erhält man folgendes Gesamtergebnis. Es lassen sich in frühneuenglischer Prosa im grossen Ganzen zwei Arten der Verwendung von Klangfiguren unterscheiden : eine vornehm discrete, quantitativ mässige, qualitativ künstlichere, markierende, in der für die gebildete Lesewelt bestimmten Literature (More, Elyot) ; daneben eine viel ausgedehntere, derb komische, oft satirische, euphonische in den an das Volk gerichteten Schriften (Bygod, Stalbridge). Neben einander treten diese beiden verschiedenen Gebrauchsarten schon frühe in Werken, die von Gelehrten an das Volk gerichtet sind (Aschams *Toxophilus* 1545) oder in solchen die sich an hoch und nieder wenden (Latimer, Lever c. 1550). Gleichwohl dauern aber markierende und euphonische Gebrauchsweise auch getrennt weiter (Painter-Harman 1567) und erst allmählich finden sie sich auch in der für das vornehme Publikum geschriebenen Litteratur reichlich zusammen (Pettie 1576, Grange 1577, Lyly 1578)."

His other chapters, valuable and suggestive, are on "Rhetorische Studien" and "Praktische Studien und Lektüre."

the *Ayenbite of Inawyt* of parisonic constructions and antithesis with the "balanced words not infrequently emphasized by alliteration." . . . "Noting these uses of antithesis," he says, "and with it the habit Lorens has of piling up his illustrative allusions a half dozen at a time, it is impossible not to feel that we have in this thirteenth-century author unmistakable anticipations, prefigurements, of the 'stilo alto.'" Inasmuch as Dan Michel in his translation of the *Ayenbite* and Richard Rolle in original prose, give evidences of a tendency toward the Euphuistic style, it may not be amiss to apply to their period what Child observes (p. 4) of the sixteenth century, "The language itself was at a stage of development which made a tendency to preciosity of some sort natural, indeed inevitable." Rolle's early date, the absence of artificial models designedly chosen, the feeble force of literary incentive to employ prose, preclude the hope of finding him close to Lyly at all points. Under some categories of the elements of the style there will be no examples, but under other more important ones there will be surprisingly many for such early, original prose. Their presence leads us to assert that an imitator with more pronounced literary instinct, following Rolle, could have created a style possessing peculiar artificialities, nearly if not quite as ornate as that of the true Euphuism. The material to work with lay at hand. Indeed its essential characteristics were possible to prose as early as that of the fourteenth century; but the early writers were too serious in handling their instrument. There was neither incentive nor tradition to encourage and stimulate them to bring out the dormant powers of the language. Had Rolle been bolder in the use of alliteration in his specimens of parisonic antithesis, we should have had the most striking mark of Euphuism long before its day. It is not that Rolle fails to use the same devices as the Euphuists, but that the Euphuists use them more frequently, with different purposes and higher skill. The writers of this school centering around Lyly¹ were not mainly desirous of creating a

¹Such criticism as the following is neither accurate nor sympathetic,

David Hanway, *The Later Renaissance*, Edinburgh and London, 1898, p. 237:

"The faults of his style have been made familiar to all the world by Falstaff's immortal address to Prince Hal. . . . The antitheses work with the regularity of

gaudy style for itself, but rather to improve the language as a medium of expression, and this, with his showing of artificialities, was doubtless one intention of Richard Rolle. It is plainly evident that he was striving to be attractive by reproducing in his own work much of that which he admired in his Latin sources. No one attempts the antithetical structure, for example, unless possessed with a desire, either to imitate a difficult form for the mere pleasure of success, or to make his prose better and more effective. In this effort to be attractive we find Rolle something of a prose artist, doing much to add to the language beauty of form and power of expression. Lyly and his school were first of all

pistons; there is a steady march past of similes, drawn as often as not from a natural history worthy of Sir John Mandeville, and arranged in twos and threes."

"Two bad models were set before Englishmen about the middle of the queen's reign and they unfortunately became and remained for a long time exceedingly popular—Lyly's Euphuism, and the wire-drawing, finicking style of Sidney's *Arcadia*, to which no name has ever been given." *Ibid.* p. 266. Cf. *Ibid.* p. 268.

Cf. E. A. Boucke, *Associative and Apperceptive Types of Sentence Structure*, *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. IV, p. 413:

"It is true that the English language likewise had to pass through a period, in which the study of Latin during the Humanistic movement left its stamp upon the grammatical diction. Another adverse agency in the history of the English literary style was the so-called Euphuism, which was imported from Spain and is exhibited in the writings of Philip Sidney and John Lylye."

For more discriminate judgment cf. Bond, op. cit. I, p. 144:

"We shall be right in assigning to the Euphuist, as representing and including his special forerunners, North and Pettie, the praise of asserting, with an emphasis hitherto unknown, the absolute importance to prose-writing of the principle of Design. These three, and Lyly in particular, recognized the need of, and consistently aimed at, what has been well denominated the quality of mind in style, the treatment of the sentence, not as a haphazard agglomeration of clauses, phrases, and words, but as a piece of literary architecture, whose end is foreseen in the beginning, and whose parts are calculated to minister to the total effect. Of this mental quality, this architectural spirit in style, Antithesis, is the most powerful instrument. It may be, it is, the fact that Lyly abused it; that he harped on this string perpetually, to weariness; that in his devotion to form he forgot its large dependence upon matter, and constrained his thought, sometimes by dilution, sometimes by compression, to a mould for which it was not always fitted, with the effect of unreality in either case. But this is only to say that he had not reached the preference for concealed over obtruded art. It cannot affect his claim to have taken the first momentous step in the development of English prose, by obeying a rule of design and aiming at elegance and precision of form." Cf. Courthope, II, p. 201.

conscious artists, determined to improve the written language. Perhaps Rolle wrote well because he read well, but we suspect that natural inclination and his mental attitude, superinduced by serious views of life, account for much that is remarkable in his style. It would be a matter of "good works" to do well whatever he attempted.

Before Lyly and his circle English had been considered crude; it was used by the unlearned who knew no Latin. Some writers by their introduction of new terms had caused only obscurity and confusion.¹ The efforts to remedy matters did much toward producing the genuine Euphuism. Contemporary treatises on Rhetoric (Coxe² 1524, Sherry³ 1550, Wilson³ 1553) must be considered as having had decided influence in the formation of the polished, conventional prose of the period. These treatises were largely compilations of Cicero, Quintilian, Erasmus, Melancthon, etc. If with Norden⁴ we trace even Guevara back to classical prose and also see Euphuistic resemblances in some of the Church Fathers,⁵ we come upon the ultimate sources of the most salient features of Euphuism on ground which supplied largely the source of our early prose, and notably that of the fourteenth century. Hence it should not be surprising to contend for Euphuistic elements in the style of a man whose reading was so restricted as Richard Rolle's. Writers much earlier⁶ in fact, when striving after a style fell into some traits which we recognize as marks of the true Euphuistic prose. In the case of Lyly and his forerunners the choice of such features was deliberate, due to admiration; in the case of Rolle and the earlier period it was of necessity, largely occasioned by a narrower field of choice, or because some features as alliteration, for example, seemed natural. In the end the result was the same; the language as a medium of expression became fuller and

¹ Cf. Wendelstein, pp. 38-39.

² Cf. Mod. Lang. Notes, 1898, p. 294.

³ For a very comprehensive review of Richard Sherry's, *A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes* and Thomas Wilson's, *Arte of Rhetorique*, cf. Wendelstein, p. 39 f.

⁴ Vol. II, p. 789 f.

⁵ Cf. L. Bayard, *Le Latin de Saint Cyprien*, Paris, 1902.

⁶ Cf. J. W. Tupper, *Tropes and Figures in Anglo-Saxon Prose*, Baltimore, 1897.

more pleasing. If the sixteenth century was largely guided by its purely rhetorical study,¹ the fourteenth was influenced by the direct imitation of classical and patristic patterns of style. The ultimate source of influence in both periods is, however, the same.

The various periods of English prose, when a reforming tendency can be detected, show much the same conventionalities in vogue. Lyly's manner is finer than Rolle's, just as Macaulay's, or Newman's, is more finished and more restrained than Lyly's. It is largely a matter of time or environment and of purpose. Lyly, to make himself a leader in an artificial age of high literary development, went to extremes. A simplifying process was inevitable. This came naturally enough when the content of the prose increased in weight and importance. Rolle, writing in an age of verse, of feeling and not of thought, develops the structural side of his prose. This is remarkable when we remember that he wrote far from the centers of culture, with but little scholastic training, and what is more, with neither guides nor models of inspiration in his own tongue. We must look for the reason for some of his stylistic qualities in the man himself. His training, mode of life, subject matter, and reasons for writing led him to perceive likeness and unlikeness. It is the constant theme of the joy of heaven and the sorrow of earth, the suffering of the Saviour and the thoughtlessness of man, the active life and the contemplative life, which put him in such a frame of mind that

¹ Cf. Morley, *English Writers*, VIII, p. 316; Courthope, II, pp. 178, 184, 187, 201; J. C. Collins, *Essays and Studies*, New York, 1895, p. 96; J. E. Spingarn, *A History of Criticism in the Renaissance*, New York, 1899, p. 254. Wendelstein's contribution (p. 39) on Sherry's Rhetoric makes a valuable addition to Spingarn's work.

Cf. Landmann (p. 61) who quotes from Tho's. Elyot's (1534) *The Doctrinal of Princes made by the noble oratour Isocrates*:

"This little book . . . I have translated out of greke not presumyng to contende with thaim, which have done the same in latine: but to the intent onely that I wolde assaie, if our English tongue mought receive the quicke and proper sentences pronounced by the greekes. And in this experience I have found (if I be not much deceived) that the forme of speaking, used by the Greekes, called in greeke, and also in latine Phrasis, much nere approacheth to that tonge, which at this daie we use than the order of the latine tongue: I meane in the sentences and not in wordes."

antithesis¹ became natural in the expression of his thoughts. Such form was most effective in presenting the truths he wished to enforce. Furthermore, the attractive presentation of old and not overabundant themes coming from the Bible and the Fathers made artificialities necessary. When he exercises more inward vision as in the *Meditations*, the matter becomes more subjective, as is seen not only in their meagre basis, the few actual facts of the Crucifixion, but also in the increase of alliteration, metre, repetition, and other devices. Of artificialities, however, antithesis and balance are the most constant, enough so to be a distinguishing mark of his style.

In a recent work on Rhetoric² the author says, "The earliest history of the balanced sentence I am not familiar with; the structure may doubtless be found very far back." It is the opinion of the present writer that the earliest examples approaching nearest to the Euphuist's form, are found in the prose of Richard Rolle. We shall now take up the matter more in detail. Child (p. 43) notes that Lyly's most characteristic artificiality, his rhetorical structure, has been commented upon by "every critic from Oldys down" but that it took time before its method or system was discovered. Child then states that the Euphuistic rhetoric "employs but one simple principle in practice, and that it applies this not only to the ordering of the single sentence, but in every structural relation." He then (p. 44) establishes as "the basic principle of the Euphuistic rhetoric . . . the enducement of

¹ Cf. Boucke, p. 418 :

"Far more important is *antithesis*, which, as a rule, is ranked among the so-called rhetorical figures, but in reality is a fundamental form of the intellectual process, as has been justly emphasized by Elster. A clear definition can be obtained by contrasting it with metaphor; the latter is a product of simultaneous association (cf. Wundt, p. 557) and appeals to imagination, in so far as it results from thinking in concrete ideas and units of thought. Antithesis rests upon successive associations: it appeals to understanding and aims at explaining an idea by contrasting it with another one. It is obvious that metaphor as a rule will not be reflected by the sentence-structure, because, it merely substitutes one unit of thought for another one. Antithesis, on the contrary, depends entirely on the logical form of thought and impresses itself upon the grammatical diction in an unmistakable manner."

² Cf. E. E. Hale, Jr., *Constructive Rhetoric*, New York, 1896, p. 315.

artificial emphasis through Antithesis and Repetition—Antithesis to give pointed expression to the thought, Repetition¹ to enforce it. This exhibits itself, as regards sentence-form and sentence-relation, in the constant employment of elaborate antithetical and parallelistic constructions.” It may be asserted with confidence that this is the same principle apparent in the style of Richard Rolle. There is, of course, a great difference in the frequency of use between the two writers, but even the most casual reading of a page of Rolle is sufficient to show his marked fondness for antithesis and parallelism. The rhetorical principle is the same, but in Lyly because of constant practice encouraged by a strong desire to be polished and artificial often for its own sake, the product is by far the finer. A few chosen passages will show the method of Rolle.

From *The Form of Perfect Living* :

“I kawe þat þi lyfe es gyuen to þe seruyce of god. þan es it schame till þe, bot if þou he als gode, or better, within in þi sawle, als þou ert semand at þe syght of men. Turne for-þi þi thoghtes perfytely till god, als it semes þat þou hase done þi body. For I will not þat þou wene þat all er hali þat hase þe abet of halynes, & er noght occupyed with þe worlde ; ne þat all er ill þat melles þam with erthly bysines. Bot þai er anly hali, what state or degre þai be in, þe whilk despises all erthly thyng, þat es at say, lufs it noght, & byrnes in þe luf of Ihesu Criste, & al þair desires er sett til þe ioy of heuen, & hates al synn, & ceses noght of gode werkys, and feles a swetnes in þaire hert of þe lufe with-uten ende : and neuer-þe-latter þai þynk þam-self vylest of all, & haldes þam wretchedest, leste, & lawest. þis es hali mens lyf : folow it & be haly. And if þou will be in mede with apostles, thynk noght what þou for-soke, bot what þou despyses. For als mykell þai forsake þat foloues Ihesu Criste, in wilfull pouert, & in mekenes, & in charite, & in paciens, als þai may couayte þat folows hym noght. And thynk with how mykel, & how gude will þou presentes þi voves before hym : for till þat he hase hys egh ; and if þou with gret desyre offer þi praiers, with grete feruoure couayte to se hym, and seke na erthly comforth, bot þe sauoure of heuen, & in contemplacion þerof haue þi delyte” (Horstman, I, 16).

“Amore languéo. þir twa wordes er wryten in þe boke of lufe, þat es kalled þe sang of lufe, or þe sang of sanges. For he þat mykel lufes, hym lyst oft syng of his luf, for ioy þat he or scho hase when þai thynk on þat þat þai lufe, namely if þair louer be trew & lufand. And þis es þe Englisch of thies twa wordes : ‘I languysch for lufe.’ Sere men in erth has sere gyftes & graces of god : bot þe special gift of þas þat ledes solitary lyf, es for to lufe Ihesu Criste. þow says me : ‘all men lufes hym þat haldes his comawndementes.’ Soth it es. Bot all men þat

¹ Defined in a foot-note, “A general term, designed to cover every structural relation which the word parallelism properly does not.”

kepes his byddynges, kepes noght also his cownsayle. And all that dos his cownsell, er noght also fulfylde of þe swetnes of his lufe, ne feles noght þe fyre of byrmand luf of hert. For þi, þe diuersite of lufe, makes þe diuersite of halynes & of mede. In heuen, þe awngels þat er byrmandest in lufe, er nerrest god. Also men & women þat maste has of goddes lufe, whether þai do penance or nane : þai sall be in þe heghest degre in heuen ; þai þat lufes hym lesse, in þe lawer order. If þou lufe hym mykel : mykel ioy & swetnes & byrnyng þou feles in his lufe, þat es þi comforth & strenght, nyght & day. If þi lufe be not byrmand in hym : litel es þi delyte. For hym may naman fele in ioy & swetnes, bot if þai be clene, & fylled with his lufe : and þartill sal þou com with grete trauayle in praier & thynkyng : hauand swilk meditacions þat er al in þe lufe & in þe louyng of god" (Horstman, I, 29-30).

From the *Commandment of Love to God*:

"þi luf es singuler : when al þi delyte es in Ihesu Cryste, & in nane other thyng fyndes ioy & comforth. In þis degre es lufe stalworth as dede, & hard as hell. For als dede slas al lyuand thyng in þis worlde, sa perfite lufe slas in a mans sawle all fleschly desyres and erthly couaytise. And als hell spares noght til dede men, bot tormentes al þat comes þartill, alswa a man þat es in þis degre of lufe, noght any he forsakes þe wretched solace of þis lyf, bot alswa he couaytes to sofer pynes for goddes lufe. þarfore if þe lyst lufe any thyng, lufe Ihesu Criste, þat es þe fayrest, richest, & wysest ; whas lufe lastes in ioy endles" (Horstman, I, 63).

A few of the more striking examples of Rolle's sentence structure will show the extent of his technical skill. Such sentences as these cannot have been undesignedly written. They show that Rolle planned with care, eager to write so well that his work would be pleasing to himself at least. It never leaves the impression of "trick writing" or of over-wrought device. In the use of his power Rolle shows proper restraint. The specimens presented are all from the first volume of Horstman :¹

¹ That the specimens of this chapter may compare in point of construction with many in the work of the early Euphuists, the following citations will show :

From *The Golden boke of Marcus Aurelius* :

"If the people were such as they ought to be one shuld rather torne from yll to good for many, than that many for one shulde tourne from good to yl" (p. 7).

"It is shewed us by trees, how we ought to norishe our children. Of trouthe the chestain trees bringe forth the softe swete chestnut out of the sharpe prickinge and hard huske : And on the nut trees amonge the swete softe leaves, is nourished the hard nutte. Appleyng this to our purpose we have seene a pitiefull father, bringe forth a cruell son, and a cruell father a pitieful sonne" (p. 16).

"For the myserable ryche persone, the more that he encrease in rychesse, the more he diminisheth in frendes, and groweth in enemyes to his damage. And he

"For I hope þat god will do swilk thoghtes in þi hert, als he es payde of, & als þou ert ordaynde for" (p. 30).

"Blyssed es he or scho þat es in þis degre : bot zitt er þai blyssedar þat myght halde þis degre" (p. 31).

"Trowth may be withouten lufe : bot it may noght helpe withouten it" (p. 36).

"With-outen þat, na man may pay god ; with þat, na man synnes" (p. 37).

"We sall afforce [vs] at cleth vs in lufe als þe yren or þe cole dose in þe fyre,— als þe ayer dose in þe son ; als þe woll dose in þe hewe. þe cole swa clethes it in þe fyre, þat al es fyre. [þe ayre swa clethes it in þe son þat al es ligh]. And þe woll swa substancialy takes þe hewe, þat it es lik it. In þis maner sall a trewe lufar of Ihesu Criste do : his hert sal swa byrne in lufe, þat it sal he turned in til fyre of lufe, & be als it war al fire ; and he sal sa schyne in vertues, þat in na parte of hym he be myrke in vices" (p. 37).

"If þou will aske how gode es he or scho : ask how mykel lufes he or scho" (p. 37).

"For whare sa couaityse es : þare es na lufe of Cryste. þan, if he haue na couaityse : signe es þat he hase lufe" (p. 43).

"For many lufes god whils þai er in ese : and in aduersite þai grotche, & falles in swa mykel sarynes, þat unneth may any man comforth þam ; and swa sclawnder þai god, flytand & feghtand agayne his domes. And þat es a caytif louyng þat any welth of þe worlde makes ; bot þat louyng es of mykel pryce, þat na violence of sorow may do a-way" (p. 44).

"Men thynk it swete to synne : bot þaire mede, þat es ordand for þam, es bitterer þan þe gall, sowrar þan þe atter, war þan al þe waa þat we may here se or fele" (p. 53).

that is wytte, the wyser that he is, the better he is beloved of theym that be good, and feared of them that be yll for his profyte" (p. 48).

"For a good man alway lyveth in dyenge, and the yll alwayes dyeth in lyvyng" (Letter vi).

"Of trowth if it lay in my handes to do, I had rather give lyfe to a symple oxe, than to a malicyous ideote. For the beast liveth for the utilite of dyuers, without doynge damage to any other : and the symple ideot man liveth to the damage of all other and without profyte to any person" (Cap. xxix).

"The yong shal not say, I am yong and vertuous, nor the olde shal not say, I am olde and broken. For of necessite, the drye flaxe wyll brenne in the fyre : and the grene flagge smoke in the flamme. I saye, that a man beynge a diamonde enchased amonge men, yet of necessitie he ought to be quycke and mery amonge women" (Cap. xxxvi).

"Thou mayste well thinke what turment ought to be in the see of my harte, whan suche tremblynges and motions of erthe and reynes are set in the erthe of my body" (Cap. xlii).

From *The Diall of Princes* :

"More for the good merites that were in the children, then for the greate estimacion that came from the fathers" (p. 2).

"For good princes chose alway suche captaynes, as can by wysedome guide the armye, and with valiauntes give the bataile" (p. 2).

"For his domes er so pryue, þat na creature may comprehend þam ; and oft-sithes som haues þar likyng & þair wil in þis worlde, & hell in þe toþer : & som men er in pyne & persecucion & anguysch in þis lyfe, & hase heuen to þair mede" (p. 54).

"Wharfore, þat þou may lufe hym trewly, vnderstand þat his lufe es proued in thre thynges : In thynkyng, In spekyng, In wirkyng. Chaunge þi thoght fra þe worlde, & kast it haly on hym : & he sall norysche þe. Chaunge þi mowth fra vnnayte & warldes speche, & speke of hym : & he sall comforth þe. Chaunge þi hend fra þe warkes of vanitese, & lyft þam in his name, & wyrke anyl for hys lufe : & he sall receyue þe" (p. 67).

"If þi body be cled wyth-outen as þine order wille, loke þat þi sawle be noght naked with-in þat þine order forbedes : Bot naked be þi sawle fra all vices, & warme happed in lufe and mekenes" (p. 68).

"I prey þe, lord, and byseke þe þat þou unbynde vs of bondys of alle owre synnys, os þou suffred to be bownde for owre loue" (p. 83).

"I thanke þe of þe peynes and schamys þat þou thorow þi swete wyll soffred for vs whan þou were clad in purple for to schame þe, and þe corowne with thornys for to pyne with þi swete hed" (p. 84).

"I thanke þe of peynes and of schamus þat þou soffrede so swetely & so gladly, now for to drawe þe, now for to putte þe so schamely, now for to smyte þe, now for to bete þe so sore & so felly" (p. 84).

"þe loue of ȝowre hertys þat ouer alle opere loues was wythowte make brennyng kene, made ȝow to brenne eyther for ober with vnyke sorewe to ony ober woo ; as þe loue was makeles, so þe sorewe was pereless" (p. 86).

"A, lady, þat sorewe may no tunge telle þat þou þere soffryd at þat ilke chawn-

"For the Romaynes neither feared the paynes of hell, nor trusted for reward in heaven" (p. 2).

"His death was as muche bewayled as his lyfe was desyred" (p. 2).

"It is a rule that never faileth, that vertue, maketh a straunger grow natural, and vice, maketh the naturall a straunger in his countrye" (p. 3).

". . . to forget the vices of Rome, and to accustome me, to the vertues of Rhodes" (p. 3).

"O my frend Pulio it was such a joye then, to beholde the discipline and prosperite of Rome, and it is now at this present suche a grefe to see the calamitie therof" (p. 4).

". . . for then amongst a thousande, they could not finde one man vicious in Rome : and now amonges twentie thousand, they cannot finde one vertuous in all Italye" (p. 4).

"Universally the noble harte may endure al the travailes of man's life, unlesse it be, to see a good man decaye, and the wicked to prosper : which my harte cannot abyde, nor yet my tonge dissemble" (p. 4).

"For of righte ought that common wealthe to be distroyed, whiche out of all other hathe bene the flower and moste beautified with vertues : and after becometh moste abhominable, and defiled, with vices" (p. 5).

"For the example of the deade doe profyte good men more to live well : than the counsaile of the wicked provoketh the lyvinge to lyve evyll" (p. 5).

". . . a man which couldre reade it well, and also dispute of it better" (p. 5).

gyngre : when þou in þi sonys stede, þi flesche and þi blood, schulde anoper felow take : for almygti god a dedly man, decyple for þe mayster, Iohan for Ihesu Cryst" (p. 89).

"My lord, is now þe malyce of my lyther herte more þan is þe vertu of þi precyouse deth" (p. 90).

"Swete Ihesu, in þee is al souereyn medicyn, & I, lord, am al siik in synnes" (p. 93).

"More git, swete Ihesu, þi bodi is lijk a book writen wiþ reed enke : so is þi bodi al writen wiþ rede woundis. Now, swete Ihesu, graunte me grace often to rede upon þis book, & sumwhat to vndirstonde þe swetnes of þat writinge, & to haue likinge in stodious abidinge of þat redinge" (p. 97).

"Swete Ihesu, git þi bodi is lijk to a mede ful of swete flouris & holsum herbis : so is þi bodi ful of woundis, swete saueringe to a deuout soule, & holsum as cerbis to ech sinful man. Now, swete Ihesu, I biseche þee, graunte me swete saour of merci, & þe holsum reseite of grace" (p. 97).

"And of alle þis perils þi gode god has delyuerid þe of his godenes & noght of þi dessert" (p. 145).

"Men of religione heris lessons of hali mennis lyues at þaire mete, so þat as þe bodi is fed with bodili fode : so þe saule be fed with hali wordis" (p. 150).

"And sai sum-tyme þe vii psalmes for þe quik & þe dead, þat god gif grace to þe quike : & rest to þe dead" (p. 155).

"þen, thorough þe rightwisenes of god we are more worthi til haue payne for oure euil dedes ; þen any mede of god for any gode þat we doo" (p. 156).

"Prayere pryntede and closede in a laghe herte with þe lufely drede of godd and with mylde mekenes, euer-mare dredande for to greue godd and euer-mare desyrande for to lufe godd, reues fra þe gonge lufers of godd lykyng and luste þat þe alde lufers of godd before hase loste" (p. 300).

We conclude our specimens of sentence-structure with a few that are noteworthy for their parison.¹

¹ "When we find two clauses or sentences conveying an antithesis, or a train of clauses or sentences connected by parallelism, we often find two, three, or all the words in the different members accurately balanced against each or one another by similarity of position and similarity of grammatical function. This is called parison. In cases of parisonic antithesis, the words opposed are themselves very generally contrary or opposite in meaning" (Child, p. 52).

Bond I, 540, suggests the term "clause-parallelism" for this feature in Lyly's style.

Cf. Professor Bright's Review of Bond's *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, American Journal of Philology, xxv, p. 203 : "Throughout his discussion of Euphuism, moreover, Mr. Bond has prepared the reader for what would otherwise have been a real surprise in his note on 'parison' (I, 540). The ancient use of the word (Quintilian, ix, iii, 75) should have saved Mr. Bond from an habitual playing with the mistaken etymological significance of the term ; indeed the modern glass-blower might have taught him better. There is, however, an objection that might be urged against the use of 'parison' (adjective) in place of the correctly formed name of the process, 'pariosis' (Volkmann, *Rhetorik* p. 482 ; Gerber, *Die Sprache als Kunst* II, 135, 140). The old word cancels the demand for such an unshapely coin as 'clause-parallelism.'"

"þe thyrd es : þe wonderfull ioy of þe kyngdom of heuen, þat es mare þan tong may tell, or hert mai thynk, or egh may se, or ere may here. It es swa mykel, þat, als in hel myght na thyng lyue for mykel pyne, bot at þe myght of god suffers þam noght to dye : swa þe ioy in þe syght of Ihesu in his godhede es swa mykel, þat þai mond dye for ioy, if it ne war his godenes, þat will þat his louers be lyuand ay in blys : als his ryghtwysnes wil þat al þat lufed hym noght, be ay lyuand in fyre, þat es horribel till any man at thynk, loke þen what it es to fele" (p. 28).

"And loke wele þat þou seme not ane with-owten, and be a nother wyth-in, als ypocrites dose, þe whilk er like til a sepulker þat es paynted richely with-owten, & wyth-in rotes stynkand banes.¹ If þou have delyte in þe name of religion : loke þat þou have mare delyte in þe dede þat falles til religion. Thyne abett says þat þou hase forsaken þe world, þat þou ert gyuen til goddes seruys, þat þou delytes þe noght in erthly thyng : lok þan þat it be in þi hert, als it semes in men syght—For na thyng may make þe religious bot vertues & clenness of sawle in charite.

"If þi body be cled wyth-owten as þine order wille, loke þat þi sawle be noght naked with-in—þat þine order forbedes : Bot naked be þi sawle fra all vices, & warme happed in lufe and mekenes" (p. 68).

"Sothely, swa dose al þe lofers þar-of : For nathyng may stande stably on a fals gronde. þair bodys er gyn til wormes in erth, & þair sawles til þe deuels of hell. Bot all þat forsoke þe pompe & þe vanite of þis lyfe, & stode stalworthly agaynes all temptacions, and ended in þe lufe of god : þai ar now in ioy, & hase þe erytage of heuen, þar to won with-owten end, restand in þe delyces of goddes syght" (p. 70).

"Lord þat aligist fro heuene to erthe for loue of mankynde, from so hig to so low, from so hig lordschip to so low pouert, from so hig noblei to so lowe myscheef, from so hig wele to so lowg wo, from so hig blis to so lowg peyne, from so hig myrþe to so lowg sorewe, from so likinge a liif to so peyneful a deef" (p. 92).

"þanne was þi bodi lijk to heuene : for as heuene is ful of sterris, so is þi bodi ful of woundis. But, lord, þi woundis ben betere þan sterris : for sterris schinen not but bi nygtis, & þi woundis ben ful of vertu nygt & day ; alle þe sterris bi nygte ne ligten but a litel, & o cloude may hide hem alle ; but oon of þi woundis, swete Ihesu, was & is Inoug, to do away cloudis of synne, and to clere þe conscience of alle sinful men" (p. 96).

"A, swete Ihesu, þei gauen þee poisoun to kele þi brist wiþ : & þou gaue hem þin herte blood to quenche her synnes, & to hele her soulis" (p. 101).

"þerfor ilk man aske of god with drede : þat he askis, & prai his lauerd if he

¹Cf. Matthew, xxiii, 27.

For a passage of somewhat similar antithetical form, inspired by the same biblical quotation, cf. *The Ayenbite of Inwyt*, p. 228 : "'O.' zayþ he 'huet is uayr chastete kenrede mid brigtnesse.' he zet rigt wel brigtnesse mid chastete. uor þanne is uayr chastete and maydenhod huanne hi is brigte be guode liue and oneste. Ase þe brigtnesse of þe zonne makeþ þane uayre day : alsuo þe brigtnesse of grace and of guode liue : makeþ þe maydenhod uayr and likinde to god. Huerof saynt Ierome zayþ þet mochel is uayr and brigte to-uore þe opre uirtues maydenhod. huanne hi is wyþoute lac and wyþoute uelpe of zenne. Vor huo þet is yhol of bodie and uoul ine herte : is ase þe berieles yhuited þet is uayr wyþ-out : and wyþ-inne uol of stench."

see þat his praier be nedeful & skilful : þat he it fulfill ; & if it ne be nedeful ne skilful : þat he it withdrawe ; for what mai help & what (mai) harme : wate better þe leche þen þe seke" (p. 143).

"Some-while it fallis þat he is better in goddis dome þat man demes uel : þen some þat man demes gode. Mani are honest withoute : & vnclene with- in ; Some werldli & dissolute : & hali with-in as goddis priue frendes. And some beris þaim in mannys sight as angels, & in goddes sight þai stynk as synful wrechis ; And some semes synful til mannes dome : & are ful dere til god almighti, for þaire indre berynge : is heuenli in goddis bright sight" (p. 153).

"Bot þe lufers of þe werlde & of þaire awene luste gettis neuer þe mare bot þe lesse for swilke vayne styrrynge, ne þe lufers of godd gettis neuer þe lesse bot þe mare for þaire meke thynkyng" (p. 299).

"For as þe herte þat es lufely festenede in þe lufe of godd forgettis all þe luste and lykyng of þe flesche, righte swa þat herte þat es festenede in luste and lykyng of þe flesche ffor-getes all lufe and lykyng þat it sulde hafe in godd" (p. 299).

Frequent use of such forms is liable to make any prose appear disconnected ; for it leaves the impression that the entire thought was expended on the construction of the single sentences without due regard for the larger unities. Horstman is a little prone to speak of Rolle's laxity of plan, of this rambling, loose construction. Close reading shows that the charges are true only if they refer to the treatises as a whole, and even then they deserve to be modified. The sense of looseness is caused by Rolle's habit, as it were, of playing with his thought. His mind was restless, quick to note the significant word around which to build a new thought. Child shows (p. 47) why it is that Lyly's prose was often misjudged. The same reason may well be applied to explain Rolle's apparent looseness : "Each thought with its suggestions is so long dwelt upon and the similes, metaphors and illustrations which accompany it are so varied and attract so much attention, that except one read with close attention, the effect is that of a rambling and disconnected discourse." In spite of his peculiar restless style many of Rolle's sections when considered separately, show decided skill in their formation, giving plain evidence how their unity was preserved. This feature has a faint resemblance to one apparent in Euphustic prose, but there it has the dignity of method, so consistently applied that the unity of the entire discourse is assured. Child (p. 46) says of Lyly, "a single thought occupies his attention for some time ; he balances with it its allied thoughts, directs his efforts to express it and its suggestions in a variety of ways,

and to emphasize these by illustration and example, before he passes to the next thought in the logical sequence. Unity is brought about through parallelism."

A section from Rolle's *Form of Perfect Living* (Horstman I, 39), will show what resemblance he bears in this respect to Lyly :

"þe thirde askyng es : "How sal I verrayli lufe god?" I answer : Verray lufe es : to lufe hym in al þi myght, stalwortly ; In al þi hert, wysely ; In al þi sawle, deuowtely & swetely. Stalwortly may na man lufe hym, bot he be stalworth. He es stalworth þat es meke, for al gastly strength comes of mekenes ;—on whame restes þe haly gaste? in a meke sawle. Mekenes gouernes us & kepes us in al oure temptacions, swa þat þai ouercom us noght. Bot þe deuel deceyues many þat er meke thorow tribulacions, & reproues, & bakebitynges. Bot if þou be wrath for any anguis of þis worlde, or for any worde þat men says of þe, or for oght þat men says til þe : þou ert noght meke, ne þou may swa lufe god stalwortly. For luf es stalworth als þe dede, þat slaes al lyuand thyng in erth ; and hard als hell, þat spares noght till þam þat er dede. And he þat lufes god perfutely he greues hym noght, what schame or angwys þat he suffers, bot he has delyte, & couaytes þat he war worthy forto suffer torment & payne for Crystes lufe ; and he hase joy þat men reproues hym & spekes ill of hym. Als a dede man, what sa men dos or sayes, he answers noght : Ryght swa, wha sa lufes god perfutely, þai er not stirred for any worde þat man may say. For he or scho kan noght lufe þat may noght suffer payne & anger for þair friendes lufe. For wha sa lufes þai haue na pryde. Prowde men or women lufes noght stalworthly : for þai er swa wayke, þat þai fall at ilk a styryng of þe wynde, þat es temptacion. þai seke heghar stede þan Cryste : for þai wil haue þair wil done, whethir it be with right or with wrang : and Cryst will nathyng be done bot wele, & with-outen harme of othir men. Bot wha sa es verrayly meke, þai wil noght haue þair wil in þis worlde, bot þat þai may haue it in þe toþer plenarly. In na thyng may men sonar ouercom þe duel, þan in Mekenes, þat he mykel hates. For he may wake & faste, & suffer pyne, mare þan any other creature may : Bot mekenes & lufe may he noght haue. Als wa þe behoues luf god wysely : and þat may þou noght do bot if þou be wyse. þou ert wyse . . . ?"

This extract from Rolle may be compared with the following typical one from the *Diall of Princes* (Cap. xx), to show that a similar method of sustaining interest was employed by North :¹

"In myne opinion Princes ought, and are bounde to be vertuous, for 5 causes. I say vertuous, in that they should love and feare god. For he onely may be called vertuous, which in the catholyke faith of the church, and in the feare of god hathe alwaies remained constant. First, Princes should feare, love, serve, and honour one onely god, whom they worshippe, for that they acknowlege hym onely, and none other to be the heade, both of heaven and earth. For in the end,

¹ For the same stylistic peculiarity in Berners, cf. *e. g.* Cap. xv of *The Golden boke of Marcus Aurelius*.

ther is nothing so puissaunt, but is subjecte to the divyne power. And truly, the Prince is in great peryll of damnacion of his soule, if in hys government, he hath not alwayes before his eies, the feare and love of the supreme prince, to whom we must render of all oure doinges an accompt. For the prince hath great occasion to be vicious, thincking that for the vice he shal not be chastised. I have redde in diverse and sondry writings, and I never founde one auncient Prynce to be contented with one onely god, but that they had and served many gods. Julius Cesar caried five gods painted in a table, and Scipio the great caried seven portered in mettall. And furthermore, they were not contented to have many : but yet in sacrifices and services they offered unto them al. The christian Prynces, whiche keape and have but one very true and omnipotent god, are so unthankful, that they thinke it much to serve and give acceptable service unto him. And thoughe peradventure some saye that it is more payneful to serve one true god, then all these false gods, to this I aunswere : That to serve them, it is both trauaile, and payne : but to serve our god, it is both joye and felicity. For in serving those, it is costlye, and withoute profyte : and in servinge god, greate profite ensueth. For those goddes require great and riche sacrifices : and our god demandeth nothinge but pure and cleane hartes."

Since the style of Richard Rolle, in its employment of antithesis, has so much in common with that of Lyly and the Euphuists, it remains to indicate what was the probable line of influence which occasioned the likeness in prose so widely separated and essentially dissimilar. To do so it will be necessary, first, to quote rather extensively from Norden, who gave especial attention to the origin of the feature in Euphuism ; then, by referring to special studies in Rolle's sources to see if our knowledge of the reading of Rolle gives enough ground to assume that the agreement between Rolle and the Euphuists in this stylistic feature, was due to the same general cause, the direct and indirect imitation of classic models.

Assuming that the immediate source of Euphuism lies in the work of Guevara, *El libro de Marco Aurelio*, Norden attempts to show where the Spaniard found the models for his antithetical sentence form, by common consent of all critics from Drake down, the most characteristic feature of Euphuism.¹ He says (vol. II, p.

¹ Cf. Landmann in "*Transactions of the New Shakespeare Society*," 1880-85, pt. II, p. 253 :

"The most prominent characteristic of Guevara's style is the parallelism of sentences, parisonic antithesis, well balanced juxta or contra-position of words and clauses ; and he has a predilection for pointing out the corresponding words by consonance or rhyme. There is no chapter in Guevara's books where these

789), "Aber ich, dem das Englische nebensächlich war, fragte weiter: woher hat diesen Stil der Spanier? Die Antwort ergab sich mir sofort *dieser Antithesenstil oder, was dasselbe ist, dieser Satzparallelismus kann nur eine der vielen Erscheinungsformen jenes alten gorgianischen σχῆμα sein*, dessen tändelnde, auf Ohr und Auge sinnlich wirkende Art seit zwei Jahrtausenden auf Menschen verschiedenste Zunge seine Wirkung ausübte und zur Nachahmung reizte." Norden next endeavors to discover, if possible, what were the training and reading of Guevara in order to learn if he was influenced by the Humanistic trend of the period, then to see if, in the theory and practice of the contemporary Humanists, there was an especial fondness for the use of antithesis. Satisfied on both

twin phrases do not at once strike the eye; they form the most prominent feature in Guevara's and Lyly's style."

Cf. Joseph Jacobs, *The earliest English version of the Fables of Bidpai*, "*The Morall Philosophie of Doni*," by Sir Thomas North, whilom of Peterhouse, Cambridge, edited and induced, London, 1888, pp. liii-liv:

"Yet, if recent research is to be trusted, North's first book, the translation of Guevara, which he called *The Dial of Princes*, had almost as much influence as his Plutarch. For Dr. Landmann in an ingenious essay (*Der Euphuismus*, Gießen, 1881) has attempted to trace Euphuism to the influence of Guevara. It is true Mr. S. L. Lee interprets this to mean that Euphuism had for its literary parent Lord Berners, the translator of Froissart, who also Englished Guevara's book before North in 1539 (see his edition of Berner's *Huon of Burdeux*, E. E. T. S. E. S., 50, pt. IV, pp. 785-6). But Berner's version was made from the French, and it is difficult to see how the Spaniard's style could be caught except in a version made from the Spanish, as was in large measure that of North, who must therefore be regarded as the father of Euphuism, if that style is to be traced to Guevara alone. But as a matter of fact, such a tendency to over-ornamentation as is shown in Euphuism came to all the literatures of West Europe as a natural development after they had passed the apprenticeship of translation, and became conscious of the delights of literary artifice.

North came just mid-way between the exaggerated Ciceronianism of Berners, Elliott, and Ascham, his chief predecessors, and the exaggerated Guevarism (if it must be so) of Lyly and his school; and because he did so, we see in him Tudor prose at its best."

A comparison made between the two translations, the first of the original and the second of the greatly expanded work of Guevara,—Berner's *Golden boke*, 1534, and North's *Diall*, 1557, found chapters in North's version almost identically the same as chapters in that of Berners. Compare e. g., cap. xxxviii of the *Golden boke* with cap. lxiii of the *Diall*. The style of Berners is essentially Euphuism. The artificialities that mark the prose of Lyly are used by Berners, though not so freely or so consistently.

points Norden concludes that in Guevara's style we have one of the many results of the Renaissance.

For proof of the existence and activity of Humanism in Spain, Norden is compelled to go to the catalogues of Andreas Schottus, *Hispaniae bibliotheca*, Frankfort, 1608, and of Nic. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana*, Rome, 1672. From these catalogues he selects the list of books owned by three of the more prominent Humanists, Lud. Vives, Alphonso Garsias Matamoro, Francisc. Sanctius, and concludes (vol. II, p. 790), "Liest man die Werke der beiden ersten und sammelt sich aus den genannten Katalogen die stattliche Reihe der Humanisten so erkennt man, dass die formalistische Renaissancerhetorik seit dem Ausgang des xv Jh. in Spanien eine ausserordentlich grosse Rolle spielte, was ja bei dem stark ausgeprägten oratorischen Naturell dieses Volkes auch begreiflich genug ist." The work of the Spaniards, however, was not remarkable for originality, but owed much to the efforts of the Italian scholars of the period.

That Guevara was trained in the schools and methods of Humanism, Norden thinks plainly evident from the contents of the *Libro Aureo* as well as from its style, and since it is in Guevara's style that Norden's chief interest rests, he goes further to establish the proof of classical influence upon Guevara. Of this influence, Norden finds satisfying proof in Guevara's epitaph, the only accessible Latin written by him, and in contemporary opinions on his style. For its effect on the writers of the time, there is both praise and censure. In general, the criticisms quoted by Norden call attention to Guevara's florid style, with its fondness for unusual words, learned allusions to classical lore and abundance of balance and antithesis. To this argument of Norden's we add one of decided value from Wendelstein, which, based on Guevara's own words, suggests other sources for his main stylistic feature. He says (p. 67), "Antithese und Satzparallelismus suggerierte gewiss auch die Bibel. Sie war ohne Zweifel teilweise auch die Leherin Guevara's. Man darf das seinen eigenen Worten entnehmen: 'Ich habe mich in dieser Schrift (*i. e.* *Libro aureo*), die weltlichen Charakter hat, des Mittels bedient, dessen man sich verschiedene Male in der Theologie bediente.' Mit mehr

Recht regen diese Worte einen andern Gedanken vielleicht an. Der hervorragende Theologe hatte gewiss eine eingehende Kenntnis der Kirchenväter. Charakteristisch für den Stil dieser ist antithetischer Satzparallelismus mit Homoioteleuton. An diese frühmittelalterlichen Kirchenschriftsteller hat wohl Guevara mit seinen Worten betreffend die besondere Beachtung des Satzgefüges gedacht und von ihnen hat er ohne Zweifel viel gelernt für seinen 'erhabenen Stil.' "

In conclusion, we may assume from the arguments presented that the line of influence which made antithesis so prominent a feature in Euphuism was, in general, the following :

The Bible, the Classics (*i. e.*, Isocrates and Cicero), > Guevara > Lyly and his immediate forerunners, Berners, North, Pettie.

Though the question of Richard Rolle's sources is still unsettled, it has been shown¹ that he knew, directly or indirectly, the following authors or works :

L. An. Seneca, Disticha Catonis, Augustine, Pseudo Augustine, *Vitae Patrum*, Gregorius Magnus, Isidorus, Adso, L. Anselmus, Eadmer, Hilderbertus Turonensis, Hugo v. S. Victor, St. Bernardus, Petrus Lombardus, Honorius Augustotunensis, Petrus Blesensis, Innocent III, Philippe de Greve, Cæsarius Heisterbacensis, S. Edmundus, Bartholomæus Anglicus, Sidrac, *Compend theologie veritatis*, Abundantia exemplorum, Signa mortis, Assumptio Mariæ, Encomium nominis Jesu.

To this list we add Cicero, for the evidence found in Rolle's *Incendio Amoris*, that he was influenced by at least one work of Cicero, the *De Amicitia*, is irrefutable. A distinguishing mark of the style of Cicero and of Seneca is antithesis, which is likewise that of the Church Latin, and notably so of St. Augustine. To the direct influence of the early, artificial Church Latin we must add that of the later period, as it is found in such works as *The Mirror of St. Edmund*² and Petrus Blesensis' *The Twelve Profits of Tribulation*,³ which, replete in antithesis, had doubtless undergone

¹ Cf. Hahn, p. 46.

² Cf. Horstman, I, p. 219.

³ *Ibid.* II, p. 45.

Likewise notable for its striking sentence forms is Richard de S. Victore's *Benjamin Minor*, Horstman I, pp. 162-172. We add a few specimens :

its own refining process by following patristic models of sentence structure. Although Konrath¹ questions Horstman's assertion that Rolle translated these treatises, he gives no reason for his opinion. Hahn (p. 46), because he finds so few echoes of them in Rolle's work, agrees with Konrath. Neither opinion should carry much weight, for we may always assume that a man of Rolle's predilections knew both treatises, and especially St. Edmund, the chief of mystics.

Inasmuch as Richard Rolle was almost wholly schooled in the Bible and the Church Fathers, his style, in its conscious use of antithesis, may well be considered anticipatory of Euphuism.² It is obvious that we have in this early writer an example of the way in which artificial sentence forms are brought into a language. In almost precisely the same way Lyly and his circle found the models of their characteristic sentence form. From the Church Fathers Rolle learned what the Fathers had learned from the classics; in like manner, Lyly and his forerunners borrowed from Guevara what Guevara had learned from the classics and the artificial Latin of the Church.

"þe ton is reson, þe toþer is affection: thorow reson we knawe, and thorow affection we lufe. Of reson sprynges ryghtwise consales & gastele wittes, of affection sprynges hole desires & ordaynde felynges. . . . with-outen ymaginacion reson may noght know, and withouton sensualite affection may noght fele."

"begynes þen trule to se gode be felyng of drede, & also to be sen of gode be rewardyng of pyte."

"For ay þe mor man dredes þe paynes þat he has deserwede, þe bytterlier he sorose þe syne þat he has done."

"For it fals to a perfite saule [both] to be enflawmede with þe fire of luf in þe affection, & also to be illumynde with lyght of knawynge in þe reson."

¹ Herrig's *Archiv*, xcix, p. 161.

² "The acquirement on the part of a people of its rhetorical forms might worthily be made subject of inquiry. Clearly with the Euphuists arose the constant and understanding use of antithesis and parallelism. Before their time there is no marked indication of a persistent tendency to the use of these devices in prose; prose literature consisted either of simple narrative, or of works of polity, theology, instruction, made up substantially of straightforward assertion with occasional simple arguments from example and analogy. The classics taught Guevara and were teaching England—and doubtless the Bible, with its wonderful oriental use of these forms, would have lent its aid. But as it was, Guevara's example taught the Euphuist, and the Euphuist *i. e.* Pettie, first made their constant use a principle. Surely this is noteworthy when we consider how important a feature they are of English prose style." Child, p. 113.

III. RICHARD ROLLE AND CICERO.

Proof that Richard Rolle knew and was influenced by at least one work of Cicero is found in his *Incendium Amoris*, which was translated by Richard Misyn in 1435 under the title, *The Fire of Love*.¹

In this work, Book II, Chapter IX, treats: "Of diuers ffrenschips of gude & ille & as it may be lawsyd ; of scarisnes & of frenschip of men & wymmen, & of trew frenschip & how chosyn in itt in pis lyffe Ioys & of foly of sinne þat abstene to mikylle, or ar nakyd, & of fleschly frenschip, & aray of men & wymmen." A passage in the *Euphuës* also has friendship as its theme, but Lyly's treatment is not so full as that of Rolle's. Some striking thoughts and phrases of the *Euphuës* section are traced by Bond (vol. I, p. 334) to their obvious source, the *De Amicitia*. The section in the *Fire of Love* reveals the decided similarity existing between the two treatments. It establishes unmistakably the fact that Rolle received his inspiration, in part at least, from the same sources that gave the Euphuists the models for their most striking stylistic feature, the fondness for balance and antithesis. That Rolle was keenly appreciative of the beauty and value of these artificial sentence forms will be granted from the showing of examples already presented. It is gratifying to see that he learned much of their construction from Cicero as well as from his favorite Church Fathers. The following table will illustrate the extent of his borrowings from the tract by Cicero:

CICERO. ²	ROLLE.
"Est enim amicitia nihil aliud nisi omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum cum benevolentia et caritate consensio" (p. 8, l. 24).	"Frenschyp is knyntyng of two wyllis to lyke þinges consentyng & to vlyke dissentyng" (p. 90, l. 35). ³

¹ E. E. T. S., 106.

² References are to J. W. Reid, *Cicero de Amicitia*, American Edition by F. W. Kelsey, Boston, 1889.

³ Doth not the sympathy of manners, make the coniunction of mindes? Is it not a by woord, like will to like?" (Bond, I, p. 197).

CICERO.

"Verum etiam amicum qui intuetur, tamquam exemplar aliquod intuetur sui. Quocirca et absentes adsunt et egentes abundant et imbecilli valent et quod difficilius dictu est, mortui vivunt . . ." (p. 10, l. 3).

"Verum etiam amicum qui intuetur tamquam exemplar aliquod intuetur sui . . ." (p. 10, l. 3).

"ut eodem modo erga amicum affecti simus quo erga nosmet ipsos . . ." (p. 22, l. 13).

"ipse enim se quisque diligit, non ut aliquam a se ipse mercedem exigat caritatis suae, sed quod per se quisque sibi carus est; quod nisi idem in amicitiam transferetur, verus amicus numquam reperietur: est enim is, qui est tamquam alter idem" (p. 30, l. 18).

"Sed hoc primum sentio, nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse . . ." (p. 7, l. 24).

"amicitiam nisi inter bonos esse non posse" (p. 25, l. 31).

"Sed plerique neque in rebus humanis quicquam bonum norunt nisi quod fructuosum sit, et amicos tamquam pecudes eos potissimum diligunt, ex quibus sperant se maximum fructum esse capturos" (p. 30, l. 11).

"Quam ob rem id primum videamus, si placet, quatenus amor in amicitia progredi debeat. Numne, si Coriolanus

ROLLE.

"In mennys desyrs qwer is tru frenschyp? god forbede þat bodily sondyrans make partynge of sawlis, bot rather þe knot vnlosyd of drawynge frenschyp sal comforth heynes of bodily sondyrnyge, þat þe freynd with his freynd sall pink he is, qhwils he seys stedfanes of wills vnlowysd (p. 91, l. 4).¹

It is certan trw frenschyp qwhen a freynd behauns hym to his frende als to hym-self qwhen he pinkis his freynd hym-self in a-nodyr body, & his freynd he lufis for hymself, not for profett þat he trowys of hym to haue (p. 91, l. 8).²

"I wote not soythelye be qwhat vnhap now is fallyn þat vnneyth or seldom is fun a trew freynde; ilkone his awen sekys & no man has a frende of qwhome he says he is my-self in a-nodyr body; þa bow to þer awen profett & likyngis, & gyl to fulfyll in þer frendys þa schame nott" (p. 92, l. 15).

"Sum says frenschyp is not parfytte bot if it be betwyx þame þat ar lyke in vertewe" (p. 91, l. 13).

"Sum says . . . þat is agayns re-sone qwhere a man is lufyd for hymself, not for profett or lykng" (p. 91, l. 16).

"perof is demyd þat þa trew frendys ar not, bot fenyd, for þe men þai lufe nott bot owdyr þer gude þa couet or to fals flatering & fauyr þa tent" (p. 92, l. 19).

"Bot it is askyd, if þe tone freend erre qwhedyr sall frenschyp sees? . . . In frendys sothely is it nogt necessary

¹ Cf. "such friends with whom they may seeme beeing absent to be present, being a sunder to be conuersant, beeing dead to be aliue" (*Ibid.*, p. 197).

² Cf. "at all times an other I, in all places ye expresse I mage of mine owne person? . . . I will therefore haue Philautus for my pheere, . . . by how much the more I view in him the liuely Image of Euphues" (*Ibid.*, p. 197).

CICERO.

habuit amicos, ferre contra patriam arma illi cum Coriolano debuerunt?" (p. 15, l. 15). "nam, cum conciliatrix amicitiae virtutis opinio fuerit, difficile est amicitiam manere, si a virtute defece-
ris" (p. 16, l. 4).

ROLLE.

þe tone be chaungyd for chaungynge of þat toþer, bot frenschyp, sene it is ver-
tew, impossibyll it is þat it be voydyd in any man with-out his chaungyng" (p. 91, l. 11).¹

In their tone and spirit, some passages are decidedly suggestive of readings in the Cicero tract, though no particular parts stand out as sources :

"Kynde truly gars a man seyk hym a trew frende, for kynde desyrs kyndenes & fayth to kepe, & itt wyrkis no-þinge in vayne; qwarfore þat frenschyp þat is kyndely sal not be lausyd, kynde lastyng, bot if it be into grete wronge of kynde, þat lufyd kynde gaynstand, & þat may kynde o no wyse do, bot if it be oppressyd with rotyng maners. Ffrenschyp þerfore þat any þinge kyndyls þat is not be same þat is lufyd, slakis & is slokynde qwen þat þinge þat stirryd be lufe is not had, as if maners or riches or fayrnes frenschyp be had with yll maners, riches scriþinge, fayrnes wastyd, frenschyp also vanyschys & of hym þat it had is sayde no-þinge vnhappiar þen to be happy. Bot ffrenschyp þat kynde wyrkis in frendys, with no pouert is cast owt, with non errour done away, with none fowlnes of body is endyd qwhilst kynde lastys þat is cause of þis frenschip . . . Tru frenschyp may not be without likynge be-twyx frendys & þaire desirefull speych & comfortabyll chere" (p. 91, l. 34).

From another chapter we quote a passage of similar turn :

"Presens of my lufe to me gettis gladnes un-mesurde & sikyrnes, & of heuynes with hym I haue no mynde; all aduersite vanyschis & all oper desyres aperis not, bot þa ar stillyd & disparischyd, & he allone me holly refreschys & inlappis þat my mynde allone byrnyngly has desiryd" (p. 100, l. 19).

¹ Cf. *Contemplations of the dread and love of God*, Horstman II, p. 81 :

"The fourth poynte is thou shalt loue thy frende for his good lyuynge. Yf, thou haue a frende that is of good lyuynge thou shalt loue hym in double maner for he is thy frende, and for the goodnes that is in hym; yf he be not good of lyfe but vycyous thou mayst loue hym but not his vyces. For as I rede parfyte frendshyp is whan thou louest not in thy frende that sholde not be loued and whan thou louest in hym or desyrest to hym goodnes whiche is to be loued. As thus: though it be so that thy frende lyueth folysshly thou shalt not loue hym for his foly lyuynge but that he may by goddes grace amende hym and be parfyte in lyuynge. For what man it be that loueth hymselfe in folye he shal not prouffyte in wysedom. Also the same clerkesayth in an other place: Loueth not the vyces of your frendes yf ye loue your frendes . . ."

According to marginal notes in the manuscripts, portions of the above extract find their source in Augustine. The influence of Cicero is obvious.

The following specimen is particularly striking when compared with one, equally suggestive of Cicero, taken from the *Euphues* :

"Efrenschyp certan lyghtlye is lousyd
qwhen in þe frendes ar not fure qwharfor
he suld be lufyd, þat is to say qwhene
frenschyp is not profetabyll ne lykand
for qwhyk freyndis now ar lufyd, &
slike frenschyp is fenyd, for it may not
last bot qwhilste lust & profett bydis" (p.
91, l. 24).

"yet whosoever shall see this amitie
grounded upon a little affection, will
soone coniecture that it shall be dissolued
upon a light occasion" (Bond, I, 197).

Bond, in his note to this sentence from the *Euphues* places its source in Pettie, "The friendship amongst men is grounded upon no law, and dissolued upon very light occasion." From the above parallel, however, we think the ultimate source lies in Cicero, of whom the entire context in the *Euphues* is reminiscent.

From the list of correspondences presented it may with safety be asserted that Richard Rolle used the treatise of Cicero in much the same manner as the trained Lyly,—borrowing and adapting thoughts without giving a hint as to their origin. The Classics had long been considered as *ancilla Theologiae*, not to be studied for their own worth or for what they might contribute to culture, but for what they could give in the way of help in spreading biblical and ecclesiastical teaching. Norden (vol. II, p. 679) quotes from the second book of Augustin's *De doctrina Christiana*, "Wie die Ägyptier nicht bloss Götzenbilder hatten, die das Volk Israel verabscheute, sondern auch Gefäße, goldene und silberne, Schmucksachen und Gewänder, die jenes Volk bei seinem Auszug aus Ägypten für sich selbst gewissermassen zu einem bessern Gebrauch heimlich in Anspruch nahm (und zwar nicht aus eigener Machtvollkommenheit, sondern auf Befehl Gottes, indem die Ägyptier, ohne es zu wissen, dasjenige ihnen liehen, von dem sie selbst keinen guten Gebrauch machten): also enthalten die Lehren der Heiden nicht bloss falsche und abergläubische Erdichtungen und überflüssigen Ballast, sondern auch die zum Dienst der Wahrheit passenderen freien Künste (*liberales disciplinas*) und einige äusserst nützliche Moralvorschriften, ja in betreff der Verehrung des einen Gottes findet sich bei ihnen einiges Wahre. Dieses, also gewissermassen ihr Gold und Silber, muss der Christ

ihnen entwenden, um es in gerechter Weise bei der Verkündigung des Evangeliums zu gebrauchen auch ihre Gewänder . . . darf er in Empfang nehmen, und für den christlichen Gebrauch halten."

Richard Rolle's method may be due to this teaching. If so, the pious resolve to borrow silver and gold vessels, brought him into a field so rich in that which would greatly elevate his style. That his Latin in the *Incendium Amoris* is imitative of what marks both Church and Classical Latin, namely, the fondness for antithesis, is shown by the readiness with which so many sentences fall into antithesis and balance when translated. The general tone of Misyn's work shows how slavishly he translated. A few sentences will make this clear:

"Erassem utique: si aliter egissem; sed non ignoravi a quo accepi; unde conformavi omnino ut eius perficerem voluntatem, ne ingrato auferret quod gratis largiebatur. Delectabar itaque in solitudine sedere: ut extra tumultum positus liquidius canerem, et ferventibus precordiis meis suavissimam jubilationem experirer quod ipsam sine ambiguitate de munere ipsius quem super omnia inestimabiliter amavi, acceperem" (Horstman II, p. 65).

"Arrid forsoþ I had & I oþer wyes had done, but wele I knew of qwhome I toke. perfore me all-way I ha confermyd his will to do, þat fro me vnkynd he take not þat kyndely to me he gaf. Grete lykyng I had in wildyrness to sytt, þat I far froo noys swetlyar mote synge & with qwhyknes of hart likyngeste louynge I mote fayll, þe qwhilke doutles of his gyft I ha takyn, qwhome aboun al þinge wonderfully I ha lufyd" (E. E. T. S. 106, p. 73, l. 28).

The following characteristic sentences in Misyn's translation will further illustrate the tendency toward balance and antithesis in Richard Rolle's Latin Prose:

"Certanly als cristis lufars behavys þam-self agayns þe world & þe flesh, so luffars of þe warlde behavys þame-self agayns god & þer awen saule" (p. 5, l. 13).

"Thys mistery treuly fro many is hydd, and to few moste speciall it is scheuyd" (p. 6, l. 31).

"All sayntis treuly miracles hafe nogt done, nouder in þere lyf or aftyr þere dede, nor all dampned, owdyr in þere lyfe or after þere dede, miracle haue wantyd" (p. 8, l. 27).

"þe fadyr is called, because of hym-self he gatt a sone; þe sone is cald, be-caus of þe fadyr he is gottyn; þe holy goste, be-caus of bothe þe holy fader & holy sone he is spird" (p. 16, l. 3).

"ffor ilk parfyte þis vnderstandis, that no-þing to god es more dere þen innocens, no-þinge more plesand þen gude will" (p. 17, l. 28).

"I ioie not bot in god, I sorou not bot for my synne; no-þinge I lufe bot god, no-þing I trist bot hym; no-þinge me heuys bot synne, no-þinge me gladyns bot criste" (p. 28, l. 11).

"ffor þe more luste þai haue, þe sonar þai fayll ; & qwhilst þa haue prosperite, þa parisch ; and qwhils þa ar besy with lust to be fed, strenght of body & mynde wrechidly þa loys" (p. 53, l. 16).

"No þinge is meriar þen Ihesu to synge, no þinge more lykand þen Ihesu to here" (p. 57, l. 3).

"þe more truly fro erthly boghtis I am lyft, þe more I feyll swetnes desyred ; þe more fleschly desyrs ar slokynde, þe truliar euerlastyngre are kyndyld" (p. 58, l. 25).

"Hym truly none erthly þinge likys þat truly lufys criste, for be gretnes of lufe all passand semys fowle, with fleschly eyn bodily þingis ar seyn, bot with clene hert & meyk heuenly þingis rightwes behald" (p. 61, l. 29).

"And if þou desyr þis warldis despisars to folowe, þinke not what þou forsakis, bot qwhat þou despisis, with qwhat desyr þi will to god þou offyrs, with how grete desyre of lufe þi prayers þou presentis, with howe greet heyt of godis seinge þou longis, to hym he ioynd" (p. 64, l. 36).

"Guyde awe to dreyd þat þai fall not to yll, and ill may trowe þat þai fro þer males may ryse" (p. 67, l. 21).

"Qwhen þai sothely al þer strength & youth has spend be wronge & law in gettyngre of possessions, afterward in age þa rest, sikirly kepand þat þa with wronge haue gettyn" (p. 68, l. 5).

"Sothely of þisterys feloand, criste favirand, þe mynde to lufe meruelusly sal be warmyd, & warmyd it sal be gladynd, and glad in-to lyfe contemplatyfe sal be lyft" (p. 71, l. 7).

"Grete lykngre I had in wildyrnes to sytt, þat I far froo noys swetlyar mote synge & with qwhyknes of hart likyngeste louyngre I mote feyll, þe qwhilke doutles of his gyft I ha takyn, qwhome aboun al þinge wondirfully I ha lufyd" (p. 73, l. 31).

"þis appreuynge mens alowans I cal nott, for oft þai erre in þer allowyng, slike chesand als god despisyd, & despysand þat god has chosyn" (p. 74, l. 31).

"Lyght gretnes of gyftis me delitis, & taryngre of lufe with loys me ponyschis, qwyls þa cum þat me takes, & takand refreschis" (p. 88, l. 5).

"þis lufe to fyre vnslokynd I lykyn ; the whilk no power of enmys may cast downe, no softnes of flatery may ouyrcum" (p. 97, l. 12).

"He certan with endles lufe þat is not byrnyd, with teris nedis to be purgyd" (p. 97, l. 37).

"þis warld is parfite if we owr myndes fro lufe of creaturis pythely depart & to onely god þame truly with-owte departyngre Ioynd" (p. 98, l. 20).

"Truly it behoues þat smale synnes we be not glad to do þat will grete synnes parfityly eschw. He truly þat knawyngly & wilfully fallis in-to þe lest, vnauisyd to gretter oft-tymes sal fall" (p. 103, l. 37).

IV. MECHANICAL DEVICES.

(1.) *Alliteration.*

The presence of figures of similarity in sound has always been a more or less marked feature of English prose style. Tupper¹ has shown how wide their use is in Anglo-Saxon prose, while Middle English gives frequent reminders of their conscious employment. It is interesting to observe how much authors, as late as Macaulay and Stevenson were dependent upon alliteration and kindred artificialities. Stevenson² not only betrayed his admiration for such devices, but even went so far as to suggest to writers their careful study and use. Perhaps it is due to such examples that we find in the work of a present day student and critic of style, Brownell,³ sentences showing alliteration used precisely in the manner of early prose. The volume offers such striking specimens as the following :

"But his nearest approach to passion is petulance, except when he is occupied with reprehension or reproof" (p. 58). "So much struggle in the pursuit of mere simplification, so much apologetics for so concise a credo, such a wide waste of philosophizing for such a circumscribed foothold of faith, such a sea of speculation through which to reach so narrow a strand of certainty! To arrive at his not complex philosophy Carlyle passed through a prodigious amount of thinking; demon-driven and tempest-tossed in the process" (p. 58). "Dithyramb in its praise is doubtless out of date, but it has not given place to dithyramb in its censure" (p. 69).

With representative authors so far removed from early traditions, using instruments usually considered the more fitting property of prose in its beginnings, or of prose in periods purposely artificial, it seems justifiable to consider this tendency as evidence of the regard for such stylistic devices.

¹ Cf. J. W. Tupper, *Tropes and Figures in Anglo-Saxon Prose*, Baltimore, 1897.

² Cf. R. L. Stevenson, "On Style in Literature." *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 47 (1885). Cf. W. P. Chalmers, *Charakteristische Eigenschaften von R. L. Stevensons Stil*, Marburg, 1902.

³ Cf. W. C. Brownell, *Victorian Prose Masters*, New York, 1902.

Child (p. 64) declared that "the first general common use of alliteration in English prose was due to the Guevarists, or early Euphuists." He continues, "This point established, the question rises—how came this and why? The simple reply is that it was due to the fact that at the very time when the Guevaristic cultus was growing into the more definite form of Euphuism, alliteration had just made a sudden reappearance in fresh vigor in English verse. But how then is the transference of its use to prose to be accounted for, a thing which had never¹ before taken place?" In an appendix to his study Child says (p. 120), "Alliteration occurs in Middle English prose generally in impassioned passages" and then refers to the *Meditatio*, edited by Ullmann in *Engl. Stud.*, VII: "It may be used," he observes, "to give distinction to particular words, *i. e.*, emphasize their logical relation to the whole thought, but is seldom used to emphasize the logical relation of two or more words to each other." Exceptions are such formulaic pairs as "true and trusty," "made or marred," "not for the learned but for the lewd." He finds in Dan Michel's *Ayenbite* a remarkable exception. In this work cases occur of parisonic antithesis emphasized by having the balanced words alliterate. For example: "Hit ys wel ssort ine wordes: and wel lang ine wytte. Liht to zigge an sotil to onderstonde," which in the original reads "Elle est moult couerte en paroles . e mout longue en sentence . legiere a dire e soutiue a entendre" "Yef þou wylt libbe vriliche, lyerne to sterve gledliche" "be wyllne ne be wilninge." Wider study of Richard Rolle, in his use of devices of this nature, than was possible to Child writing in 1894 makes his style an earlier prefigurement than the *Ayenbite* of the Euphuistic peculiarities. Horstman says of Rolle (II, p. xviii) "as a writer

¹To this he adds a foot-note, "This 'never,' we hope, can justify itself. Lyly's prose is prose; Aelfric's inclines towards being verse. He breaks the law of alliteration of his time, only as he breaks the rhythmical. And when we meet such phrasing as this (*Gerðfa*, 3): 'Ac he mot aegðer witan ge laesse ge mare, ge betere ge maetre, ðaes ðe to tune belimpð, ge on tune ge on dune, ge on wuda ge on waetere, ge on feldu ge on falde, ge inne ge ute,' we recognize that we have to do with a jingling formula, not with prose.' Only when Richard Rolle is apparently under the influence of the "canor" do we find his prose too metrical for study as prose.

he took up the old traditions of the North: *he revived the alliterative verse*. I cannot discover any previous attempts in that direction, and do not hesitate to ascribe to him the revival of this verse which forms so prominent a part in the vernacular verse of the 14th century. He first employed it in Latin." Perhaps it is just as safe to say that he was the first to make definite use of alliteration in the vernacular prose, being influenced by his own verse to make the transfer as the Euphuists were by the revival of alliteration in the verse of their time. Although the occurrences are numerous, considering the quantity and date of the prose, it would neither be possible nor of value to attempt a thorough-going comparison with the methods of the highly developed Euphuism as shown by the types of Child. The examples collected are sufficient to show that Rolle deliberately employed devices, natural to him in verse, to add to his prose euphony and emphasis. Typical specimens, arranged to show simple and more complex types, are the following:

(a) "þe fandynge of the fende" "þai gif ioy endles for a litell ioy of þis lyfe" "þai fall in lustes & likynges of this worlde" (p. 4). "& gaf þam sithen *entirely* & *perfitely* to be luf & þe louyng of þat lorde Ihesu Criste" "A foule thyng it es to hafe *lykyng* & *delite*" (p. 8). "And, *sothely*, oure lyfe es les þan a poynt, if we liken it to be lyfe þat lastes ay" (p. 19). "bot files þare bodi & þair sawle in lust & lechery of þis lyfe" (p. 20). "To herbar hym þat hase na *howsyng*" (p. 47). "þat þou leue al flesch/ly lufe, and al *lykyng* þat lettes þe til lofe Ihesu Crist verryly" (p. 50). "Al *perisches* & *passes* þat we with eghe see It *wanes* into *wretchednes*, þe welth of þis worlde. Robes and ritches *rotes* in dike. *Delites* & *drewryse* stynk sal ful sone. þair golde & þaire tresoure drawes þam til dede Al þe *wikked* of þis worlde, drawes til a dale, þat þai may se þare sorrowyng whare waa es euer stabel. Bot he, may syng of solace þat lufed Ihesu Criste" (p. 53). "bot al þe *delytes* of þis world, er *faynt* and *fals*, & *fayland* in maste nede" (p. 63). "use þe stalworthly in hys lufe, & he sal sa stably sett þe þat al be solace of þis world sal not remove þe" (p. 64). "Swete Ihesu, I þanke þe euermore for þat *schame* & *schenschip* þat þou suffridist in þi buffetinge: for manye a soor strook þou suffridist þanne for eche of hem stroof to smyte bifore opere" (p. 95). "How þai his lufly face all with spyttyng fyled, How þai buffetted þe fayrest face of al mankynde" (p. 112).

(b) "And sa mykell es he þe *wer*, þat he wate nocht þat he es yll, & es halden & honord of men as *wyse* & *hali*" (p. 6). "so þat he myght susten goddys seruys till his dede-day" (p. 7). "þat will stalworthly be lufed, & lastandly be serued" (p. 8). "when we er strengthfull to stande agaynes þe pryue & þe aperte fandying of þe deuell" (p. 9). "þe *godenes* of god it es, þat he comfortes þam wondyrfully

þat has na confortes of þe worlde" (p. 11). "comfortand noght þam þat er in sorow or in sekene or in pouert or in penance or in pryson" (p. 24). "with-owten thoghtes of vanitese or of vices, as þou war in sylence & slepe & sette in Noe schyppe" (p. 42). "For-þi, if we couaye to fle þe payne of purgatory, us behoues restreyne us *perfytely* fra þe lust & þe likyng & al þe il *deleytes* & *wikked drede* of þis worlde" (p. 59). "and with al þat on þi swete face spyttyd so fouly, and so fouly engleymede þi *fayre* face with þe *foule* styngyngne spyttyngne of the foul cursyd Iues, & *bofetede* & *smyten* and *betyn* on þi swete hed with Inne" (p. 84). "Alas þat I schal lyue and se my gracyous lord so *soffrenge* and so meke, þat neuere trespasyd, so schamely bedygt! þe *grucchyng*e & þe *grouyng*e, þe *sorwe* & þe *sychyng*e, þe *rewthe* of hys chere, I wolde were my deth. þe *crowne* of al *blysse*, þat *crownes* alle *blessede*, & *kyng* is of alle *kynges*, & *lord* is of *lordys*, is of *helle-houndys* *erouned* with thornys; þe *worchype* of heuene *despyssed* and *defouled*" (p. 85). "Thorowe þe *souerayne wysdome* and þe *grete grace* of þe *gloryouse gyfte* of oure lorde Ihesu Criste *goddis* son of heuene, if þay be sadly *soungene* or *saide* in a clene herte with *lufe* and *mekenes* and *lufely drede* in þe *louyng*e of godd, þay bryng in till us *bryghte brynnande by-haldyng*e *mengede* with *myrthe*, and *selcouthe schynyng*e fra þe *heghenes* of heuene with *gleteryng* and *glemyng*, with *myrthe* and *melodye*, that herte unclosande þat *lufes* Ihesu Criste *goddess sonne* of heuene with-owtene *forgetyng*, whare þe *haly gaste dwelles* *balefull bandes* *brystande* with þe *brynnynge* of lufe þare þe *heghe* name of Ihesu *duelles euer* in *mynde*" (p. 295). "Prayere es euer-mare *plesande* to godd with *lowe bryghtly brennande* in a meke herte, with *owtene smokyng*e *smelland* full *swetly*, in all meke *myndis* *haldand* þe lufe of oure lorde godd *hate* in oure *hertes*. *Prayere* *puttes* at þe *fende* and *haldes hyme* *obake* and *makes hyme* to *faile* and *flee* as a *fonne standande oferre*" (p. 299). "Prayere *wesches* of us all *wykkid werkes* and all *sare synns*; apone all *wyse* it *dystruyes* syne and *puttes* it *undire*, and *brynnes* *insundir* þe *bannde* of all *bale* with a *ferly fyre* *festened* in lufe *snythand* oure *hertes* if we will *hate* syne, with a *ferly fyre flyande* fra heuene as *fyre owtt* of *flyntte*, *ferly* to *behalde*" (p. 299).

(c) "& hase mare *delite* in þe *fylth* of *paire flesch*, þan in þe *fairhede* of heuen" (p. 4). "þe mare *ioy* & *wonduryng* þai haue *with-outen* of þe *louyng* of men, ay þe *les ioy* þai haue *within* of þe *luf* of god" (p. 8). "All thyng þat as *affliction* for þi *flesche*, do it: so þat þare be nane, þat may *pass*e þe in *pennance*" (p. 14). "noght *rusand hym* of his *rightwisnes*, bot *sorowand* of his *syn*" (p. 46). "If þou kan *noght lyf* *withowten feleschip*: *lyft* þi *thoght* til heuen, þat þou may *fynd comforth* with *aungels* & *halows*, þe *whilke* wil *helpe* þe til god & *noght lett* þe als þi *fleschly frendes* *des*" (p. 64). "Swete Ihesu, *git* þi *bodi* is lyk to a *mede* ful of *swete flouris* & *holsum herbis*: so is þi *bodi* ful of *woundis*, *swete saueringe* to a *deuout soule*, & *holsum* as *herbis* to ech *sinful* man. Now, *swete Ihesu*, I *biseche* þee *grannte* me *swete sauour* of *merci*, & þe *holsum reseite* of *grace*" (p. 97). "And als *gladfull* als his *come sal* be unto his *chosyn childer*, als *grymly* and als *agthful* sal it be til þase *wryekched caytifs* þat has *led* *paire lif* in *lust* and *likynges* of *paire flesshe* and in *dedely synne*" (p. 117). "And als he *sal* be *wrothfull* unto þase *weryed wryeches*: so to his *awen childer* þat here has *wroth* his *wille* *lufely* he *sal* be and *wynly* on to *loke*" (p. 117). "For at his *income*: he *wakkyns* þe *saule* *steris* it & *softis* it & *waschis* hire *wondes* with *wyne*:

& softis þaim with oile; þat is steris it to forthink bitterli þat it has misdone, & softis it with hope of merci & forgifnes of synnis" (p. 148).

(2.) Repetition.¹

The examples under this head are very numerous. Many of the specimens show considerable skill and give proof that Rolle wrote with great care. No other author of the period used the forms of repetition so frequently and so effectively as Richard Rolle. From the many examples collected, the most typical are the following :

"þai gif ioy endles for a litell ioy of þis lyfe" (p. 4).

"& makes it *clene*, to receyue þe luf of Ihesu Criste, þat may noght he loued bot in *clennes*" (p. 12).

"For we wate neuer when *we sal dye*, ne whare *we sal dye*, ne how *we sal dye*" (p. 19).

"If þou lufe hym *mykel*: *mykel* joy & swetnes & byrnyng þou feles in his lufe" (p. 30).

"*Blyssed* es he or scho þat es in þis *degre*: bot gitt er þai *blyssedar* þat myght halde þis *degre*" (p. 31).

"And þat order þat leste es *bryght*, es seuensythe sa *bryght* als þe son es. And als þou sees þe son *bryghtar* þan a *kandele*, þe *kandel bryghtar* þan þe *mone*, þe *mone bryghtar* þan a *sterne*: also er þe orders in heuen ilkane *bryghtar* þan other" (p. 50).

"God es *lyght*, & byrnyng. *Lyght* clarifies oure skyll, *byrnyng* kyndels oure couayties" (p. 36).

"If þou haue *delyte* in þe name of *religion*: loke þat þou haue mare *delyte* in þe dede þat falles til *religion*" (p. 68).

"þan may I say þat contemplacion es a *wonderful joy* of goddes luf, þe whilk *joy* es *louyng* of god, þat may noght be talde, & þat *wonderful louyng* es in þe saule" (p. 48).

¹ Cf. G. Gerber, *Die Sprache als Kunst*, Berlin, 1885, Vol. II, p. 180.

Cf. Child, p. 54. Repetition in its various forms is one of the most favorite devices of the early Euphuists. In order to compare Richard Rolle's usage with that of Berners and North, a few specimens are presented.

From *The Golden boke of Marcus Aurelius*:

"... that for to doo one good dede we lacke *tyme*, and for to do many shrewde tournes, we haue to moche *tyme*" (p. 17).

"For one thyng by dyuers *opinions* ought to be *determined*. But many thinges by one *opinion* oughte not to be *determined*" (p. 21).

"All the *good* werkes of men may be condemned with the *yll* intentions of theym that be *yll*: But the *good* condicions have such a priuilege, that of the *yl* the *good* is praysed, and the *good* approveth the *yll*" (p. 23).

"grawnte me of þi grace a sygt of þi sorewe, a poynt of þi peyne to playe me with : þat I may in a poynt somewhat fele, and a part of þi sorewe, þat I haue a mad" (p. 91).

"Swete Jhesu, binde me to þee in hope : so þat al myn hope & trist be oonli in þee ; late neuere myn hope be to streite : lest I falle in wanhope ; ne to large lest I rise in to ouerhope" (p. 94).

"& lete þi meeknes & þat doom þat þou unskilfulli suffridist, excuse me fro þat doom þat I skilfulli schulde haue" (p. 95).

"Lord þat madist me & hast gouden me manye giftis, gostly, bodili and worldli, I biseche þee, graunte me grace to usen hem all in þi seruice & to þat eende to whiche þou gaue hem to me þat I euere worschipe þee in þi giftis ; & graunte me grace euere to meken me in þi giftis, to holde me apaied wið þi giftis, & neuere to be presumptuous ne proud of þi giftis" (p. 92).

"Now open þi hert wyde to thynke on þase paynes þat Cryst for þe thoolede, and thynke þaim in þi hert rygth als be þaim þoolede" (p. 112).

In cannot be shown that such figures of euphony as *annomination* and *assonance*, consciously employed, occur. Under *consonance* the examples found are too sporadic to be of especial value. A few cases are the following :

"comen to comforth þam" (p. 12). "the crowne of al blis þat crowneth al blissid" (p. 98). "þei drow and streynyd þe streygte" (p. 86).

Though Richard Rolle had a marked feeling for *rime* as shown by his verse and by that peculiar prose doubtless written while

"As we emperours do say, the same wyll our subjects say : as we do, they wyll do : that we forsake they wyll leave : yf we lese our selues, they wyll lose them selues : yf we wyn, they wyll wyne : and fynally our welth is theyr welth, and our harme is theyr harme. . . . Take ye hede and let us take hede : Haue ye in mynde and let us have in mynd, that they which be of strange landes going through strange landes into strange landes" (p. 40).

From *The Diall of Princes* :

"In this lande, there are none but proude, and arrogante men, that delyte to commaunde. In this lande there are none other but envious men, that know nought els, but malice. In this lande, there are idel men, whiche doe nothings but loase their time" (p. 5).

"I call God to witnes and sweare to the, that this is not Rome, neither hath it any likenesse of Rome, nor any grace to be Rome, and he that wolde saye, that thys Rome was the olde Rome knoweth litle of Rome" (p. 6).

"For though God suffred the wicked to be wicked a while, god wyl not therefore suffer, that one euyll man procure an other to do euil" (p. 11).

"Princes are much bound to do well, because they were created of god reasonable men : but they are bound much more, because they be christians, and others more bound because they were made mighty" (p. 12).

"For there is no man so sage nor profound, but that another is as sage and profounde" (p. 12).

under the influence of the "canor," rime as a part of his prose technique is not in great evidence. Some examples are :

"chaungyng of lastand gode for a passande delite" (p. 4). "pan bi sawle es Ihesu lufand, Ihesu thynkand, Ihesu desirand, anly in þe couayties of hym anedande, til hym syngand, of hym byrnand, in hym restand" (p. 32). "hym behoues lufe lastand thyng lastandly and passand thyng passandly" (p. 42). "for to loue þee swete Jhesu, moost needful, moost meedful, & moost spedeful" (p. 94). "& so, þouȝ, I be not worþi in herte to be ligitid : my nede, lord, & my wikidnes askiþ to be rigtid" (p. 103).

We do not find Richard Rolle excessively fond of combining two or more words in his sentences to produce variety or strength. A restrained use of such combinations, however, is a mark of his style. This tendency to couple words is common in Middle English prose. Chaucer in the *Melibeus* shows the mannerism at its extreme. The verbose Usk's prose, strange to say, is not especially marked by this peculiarity. A few citations will show the usage of Rolle :¹

"vanytees & ryches" "pryde & delyte" (p. 5). "halden & honord" (p. 6). "sa wayke & so febyll" "and noght in a litill & in a schort tyme" (p. 7). "entirely & perfytely" "lykyng & delite" (p. 8). "oure-tome, or oure full" (p. 15). "bot turnyng fra all þe couaytise & þe likyng & þe occupacions & bisynes" (p. 18). "In this maner es verray lufe & trew" (p. 62). "Lord, I pray þe and beseke þe þat þou geue me sofferynge and strenkethe for to with-stande stedefastely ag eyne alle þe assaylynges & fondynges of my foos and of my enemys gostely & bodily. . . . I thanke þe of alle þe peynes and schamus þat þou soffred befor Pylate, and of alle þi passes and þi steppys þat þou gedyst for me in al þat sorewe" (p. 84).

Rolle's desire to write clearly is also seen in his occasional addition of clauses, usually introduced by "that," to explain an expression just used. For example :

"Some þe deuell deceyues thurgh vayne glory, þat es ydil ioy" (p. 5). "þe whilk despises all erthly thyng, þat es at say, lufs it noght" (p. 16). "For we

¹ The use of doublets is not a prominent feature of the genuine Euphuistic prose. Lyly, however, does at times indulge to some extent. Cf. e. g. Bond I, 192 : "But why go I about to prayse Nature, the which as yet was neuer any Impe so wicked & barbarous, any Turke so vile and brutish, any beast so dull and sencelesse, that coude, or would, or durst dispraise or contemne. Doth not Cicero conclude and allowe, that if wee followe and obey Nature, we shall neuer erre? Doth not Aristotle alleadge and confirme, that Nature frameth or maketh nothing in any poynte rude, vayne and unperfect?"

lyue bot in a poynt—bat es þe leste thyng þat may be" (p. 19). "perplexite, bat es dowl what es to do" (p. 21).

In conclusion it may be said that Richard Rolle is seldom obscure. His vocabulary does not show many difficult words, neither does it give evidence of a strong desire to coin new words, so decided a mark of prose in the following century.

V. ILLUSTRATIONS DRAWN FROM NATURAL HISTORY IN MIDDLE ENGLISH PROSE.

It has frequently been pointed out that one of the most marked characteristics of the Euphuistic rhetoric is the excessive employment of illustrations, many drawn directly from nature, others from the science and natural history of the times, others from the classics, notably Pliny, Aristotle and Plutarch. That a like use of illustrations of the same nature is noticeable in Middle English style has been stated by several writers. Of these, Child has gone so far as to single out a particular monument, the *Ayenbite of Inweyt*, of which he says (p. 122), "Lorens's use of allusions to natural history should be referred to as suggesting Lyly if not Guevara. They are drawn of course from the bestiaries, but are used precisely as Lyly uses them—the "adder called aspis," the adder Serayn, the beast Hyane, the Coccyx or cuckoo, the lynx, chameleon, salamander and turtle. All of these but one or two are used by Lyly. Lorens's use of them serves to show how early this class of allusions became popular in France." In the following pages we shall present specimens of such illustrative material gathered from some Middle English prose monuments. The list makes no pretension to completeness. It is merely an attempt to show that the usage was wide in Middle English and that in many ways it resembled the Euphuistic rhetoric. The employment of so artificial a device in both periods discloses a striking agreement in point of technique. With its Bestiaries and Lapidaries to draw from, the earlier prose was decidedly anticipatory of the latter, when the Renaissance made popular new sources which

served as the storehouses of marvelous facts for illustration. In Lyly the convention reached its height. His pages are so overburdened with such allusions that the reader soon becomes wearied and confused.

It is often said¹ that the Euphuistic style is easily imitated. In a measure this is true, but an extended, consistent attempt to imitate Lyly in this one respect would soon show, not only his wide reading but also his wonderful ingenuity in selecting that which would best serve his purpose. Modern science, because superficially familiar to the general reader, is lacking in the poetical, startling elements of what was once accepted as science. The wonderful beasts, stones, and trees of our early prose never could become so familiar as to lose their charm. Nevertheless the modern writer has a vastly richer field in the achievements and marvels of science of today, but the knowledge necessary to use these wonders in illustration accurately is too exacting for him to produce many serviceable figures. The future stylist, however, cannot ignore this field. A mark of his skill may rest in the ability to adapt the results of science for illustrative purposes. The original matter lent itself easily and readily enough, but the liberty which the mediæval writer possessed in this respect frequently betrayed him into applications that were both forced and incongruous. Such failures serve to bring out the inherent artificiality of the stylistic feature. We quote, for example, from the *Ayenbite of Inwyte* (p. 257):

“per is an eddre þat is y-hote in latin aspis. þet is of zuiche kende þet hi stoppeþ þet on eare mid erþe and þet oper mid hare tayle þet hi ne yhere þane charmere. þe ilke eddre ous tekþ a wel grat wyt þet we ne hyere naht þane charmere þet is þe lyegere and þe flatour. þet ofte becharmep þe riche men. Ac huo þet stoppeþ þet on eare mid erþe and þet oper mid þe tayle: he ne ssolde habbe none hede to bi be-charmed of þe dyeule ne of kuede tongen. þe ilke stoppeþ þet on eare mid erþe: þet þengþ þet he is of erþe and to erþe ssel come . . . þet oper eare stoppi mid þe tayle uor to beþenche of þe dyabe þet him ssel wel astonie.”

¹ Cf. G. P. Baker in *Representative English Comedies*, New York, 1903, p. 266, “The *Anatomie*, at least, is such a book, as a recent university graduate of the present day, well read in some of the classics, and especially susceptible to new literary influences and cults, might compile.”

That the earlier Euphuistic¹ prose could be equally forced in the application of similar illustrative material one quotation from Book II, Chapter xviii, of *The Diall of Princes*, entitled "That Ladies and other gentlewomen oughte not to be ashamed to nourishe their children with their own breastes," may serve to show :

"Al that shal reade this wryting, shall finde it true, and yf they wyl, they may see as I have sene it by experience : that after the Ape hath had her yonglinges, she alwaies hath them in her armes, so longe as they sucke, so that oftentimes there is suche strife betwene the male, and the female, which of them shall have the yongelinges in their armes, that the beholders are enforced to part them with bates. Lette us leave the beastes that are in the fieldes, and talke of the byrdes that are in the neastes : the whiche do laye egges to have yong, yet have they no mylke to bringe them up. What thinge is so strange to see, as a small byrde that hath under her winges 5 or 6 litell naked byrdes, the which when she hath hached she had neither milke to nourishe them, nor corne to give them, they have neither winges to flye, fethers to cover them, nor any other thing to defend them : yet in all this weakeness and pouertie their mother forsaketh them not, nor committeth them to any other, but bringeth them up al her selfe. That which nature provided for the swannes is no lesse marvelous, inespically when they nourishe their yong signettes in the water. Forasmuche as duringe the time that they can not swimme, the motheres alwaies in the day are with their yonglinges in their neastes, and in the nighte the fathers carye them under their proper winges (to refresh them) unto the water. It is, therefore to be thoughte, since these swannes so lovingly beare their yonglinges under their winges, that they would carry them in their armes if they were men, and also give them sucke with their owne breastes, yf they were women."

In his English works Richard Rolle has but few examples of allusions drawn from the stock of unnatural natural history. His *Incendium Amoris*, however, translated by Richard Misyn, under the title *The Fire of Love*, gives us further specimens, so that the entire showing is quite enough to prove Rolle's familiarity with the common source and his appreciation of its didactic and artistic value. We shall first quote from his original English texts :

"Bot þe sawle þat es in þe thyrd degre, es als byrnand fyre, and as þe nyght-tyngale,² þat lufes sang & melody, & fayles for mykel lufe" (Horstman, I, 33).

¹ Cf. Bond, I, p. 134.

² Cf. Lyly, *Euphuus and His England*, "Louers seeke not those things which are most profitable, but most pleasant . . . they followe the note of the Nightingale, which is saide with continual straying to singe, to perishe in hir sweet layes" (Bond II, 181).

"þan þis [es] þe kynd of þe *lyoun* þat he feris all beestes with his romying and makes þaim so hertles for drede þat þai dar nowr flee; bot þogh his noyse be hidouse til all bestes, yhet it comfortis his awene whelpis and whyckenes þaim to life. Righ so sal Ihesu Crist beer hym at þe day of dome til all þat haf lifd in syne and wald mak na endyng of þaire ille life; at þis Callyng þas sal be so feride and so unmyghty of þaire self þat þai sal nogth mow stire þaim on na syde, bot þare bihoues þaim to take als þai haf seruede, ille or gud" (Horstman, I, 117).

"Ysidore telles of a litel *flie*: þat is cald *Saura*, & þis flie bitakenes grace biforesterand. þe kynde of þis flie: is til be enemi til alle wormes of venyme; swa þat whare he sees ani worme to-ward man til stang him þare he slepes in wildernes: he flies bifore to þe man & lightis opun his face & bites him a litell; & þarethorough he wakys: or þe beste come til stange him. Bi þis *Saura*: is understanden grace þat god sendis til man: agayn þe fandnynges of þe fende þat stanges oft venemously . . . Bot þe unkynd dose agayn þis grace & fordose it: als Virgil did with þis litell flie: þat sauid him fra þe deade. He lai at slepe: & a neddre come til him-ward til stang him, bot þis flie *Saura* flied bifore & lightid on his forheuid & prikkid him a litell, & þare-with he wakenid: als þe neddre come; bot þis Virgil in his wakenynge he felid his forheuid smerte: & smate him-selfe in þe fronte & swa he slogh þe flie; & þus he qwitte him his seruice: þat sauid his life. For-þi fordo þou noght goddis grace when it comes to þe: til warne þe of þi harme & steere þe til gode" (Horstman, I, 135).

The concluding example, the *Moralia Ricardi heremite de natura apīs, unde quasi apīs argumentosa*, is interesting enough to be given in its entirety:

"þe *bee*¹ has three kyndis. Ane es þat scho es neuer ydill, and scho es noghte with thaym þat will noghte wyrke, bot castys thaym owte and puttes thaym awaye. Anothire es þat when scho flies scho takes erthe in hyr fette, þat scho be noghte lyghtly ouer-heghe in the ayere of wynde. The thyrd e is þat scho kepes clene and bryght hire wynges. Thus ryghtwyse men þat lufes god, are neuer in ydyllynis: ffor owythre þay ere in trauayle, prayand or thynkande or redande or othere gude doande, or withtakand ydill mene and schewand thaym worthy to be put fra þe ryste of heuene ffor þay will noghte trauayle here. þay take erthe, þat es þay halde þam-selfe vile & erthely that thay be noghte blawene with þe wynde of vanyte and of pryde. Thay kepe thaire wynges clene, that es þe twa commandementes of charyte þay fulfill in gud concyens, and they hafe othyre vertus unblendyd with þe fylthe of syne and unclene luste. *Avestotill* sais þat þe *bees* are flegh-tande agaynes hym þat will drawe þaire hony fra thayme. Swa sulde we do agaynes deuells þat afforces thame to reue fra us þe hony of poure lufe & of grace. For many are þat neuer kane halde þe ordyre of lufe ynesche þaire frendys sybbe or fremmede, bot outhire þay lufe þaym ouer-mekill, settand thaire thoghte unryghtwysely on thaym: or þay luf thayme ouer-lytill yf þay doo noghte all as þey wolde till þame. Swylke kane noghte fyghte for their hony, ffor-thy þe

¹ For a long account of the habits of the bee based, according to Bond, on Pliny, cf. Lyly's *Euphues and His England*, Bond, II, 44.

deuelle turnes it to wormed and makes þeire saules ofte-sythes full bitter in angwys and tene, and besynes of vayne thoghtes and oper wrechidnes, ffor thay are so heuy in erthely frenchype þat þay may noghte flee in till þe lufe of Ihesu Criste, in þe wylke þay moghte wele for-gaa þe lufe of all creaturs lyfande in erthe. Wherefore, accordandly *Arystotill* sais þat some *fowheles* are of gude flyghyng, þat passes fra a lande to a-nothire. Some are of ill flyghyng for heuyas of body and for-þi þaire neste es noghte ferre fra þe erthe. Thus es it of thayme þat turnes þame to godes seruys. Some are of gude fleyghyng for thay flye fra erthe to heuene and rystes thayme thare in thoghte, and are fedde in delite of goddes lufe, and has thoghte of na lufe of þe worlde. Some are þat kan noghte flyghe fra þis lande bot in þe waye late theyre herte ryste and delyttes þaym in sere lufes of mene and womene, als þay come & gaa, nowe ane & nowe a-nothire, and in Ihesu Criste þay kan fynde na swettnes or if þay any tyme fele oghte it es swa lytill and swa schorte for othire thoghtes þat are in thayme, þat it brynges thaym till na stabylnes; for þay are lyke till a fowle þat es callede *strucyo* or storke, þat has wenges and it may noghte flye for charge of body. Swa þay hafe undirstandyng, and fastes and wakes and semes haly to mens syghte, but thay may noghte flye to lufe and contemplacyone of god, þay are so charged wyth othire affeccyons and othire vanytes" (Horstman, I, 193).

The following specimens from *The Fire of Love* are especially noteworthy because of the marked antithesis in both :

"Many forsoth þat with me haue spoken, like wer to *scorpions*, for with þere hede flaterand þai haue fagyð, & with þare tayl bakbytand þai haue smyttyn" (p. 22, l. 4).

"Treuly þai ar lyke þe stone þat is called *topazius*,¹ þe whilk seldum is fun, & þerfore more precius & full dere it is had; in whilk too colors ar; one is moste pure als gold, & þe toper clere als hevyn when it is bright. & all clernes of all stonys it ouercomys, & no þinge fayrer is to be-hald. If any treuly it wald polysch, it is made [dym]; & treuly if it be þe self be left, his clerenes is with-haldyn. So holy contemplatyffe of whome before we spake seldomest ar, & þerfore moste dere. To gold þai ar lyke for passyng hete of charite, and to heuyn for

¹ Compare with this Lyly's "precious stone Sandastra," Bond, II, 61 and "the precious stone Anthracitis," Bond, II, 81.

Cf. A. Waag, *Kleinere Deutsche Gedichte des XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts*, Halle, 1890, p. 62,

"Der VIII stain ist sus
gehaizen *Topazius* :
varwe habet er doch zuwâ
daz pûch saget uns sô :
diu eine ist haiter unte mare
nâh dem himele gevare,
diu ander luter sô daz gott."

Cf. *Ibid.*, p. xxvi, "Nach *Marbodus de lapidibus*."

clernes of heuently conuersacion ; þe whilk passys all saynts lyuys, & þerfore [ar] clerar and bryghtar emonge precius stonys, þat is to say chosynn, for þis lyfe only louand & hauand clarar þa er þen all odyr men þat ar or ellis has bene. Who treuly slike will polysch, þat is to say with dignites worschip, þe heet of þame þai ar besy to lessynn, þer fayrnes & per clernes in maner to make dyme ; if þa treuly worschip of principalite gett, for-sothe fowlar & of les mede þa sall be made. þo þer stodys þerfore to take hede þai sall be left, þat þere clerenes may increas" (p. 34, l. 20).

A few specimens, simpler in form, may be given :

"Songe certan it sal lufe, & in Jhesu syngand, to a byrd it sal be likkynd to the deed syngand" (p. 100, l. 9).

"In the begynnynge truly of my conuersion & syngulere purpoys I þoght I wald be lyke þe lityll byrde þat for lufe of þe lemman longis, bot in longynge it is gladynd qwhen he cumys þat it lufis, Also it longis, bot in swetnes & heet. It is sayd þe nyghtgale to songe & melody all nyght is gyfyn, þat sche may pleis hym to qwhome sche is Ioynyd" (p. 102, l. 32).

A most remarkable compilation of figures is found in the final example :

"þis world truly has likyngis of wrechydnes, ryches of vanite, wondynge flateryngis, dedely likeyngis, wode luste, made lufe, hateful dyrknes, mydday in þe begynynge & at þe ende nyght euerlastynge. It has also salt unsalt, sauyr unsauyrd, fowle bewte, horribil frenschyp, chiryschynges nyght, bittyr hony & kyllande fruyte. It has also a rose of stynke, Joy of waymentynge, melody off heuynes, louynge of despyte, truly drynke of deed, Aray of abhominacion, þe ledar begiland & þe prince downe castand. It has also þe geme of heuynes & scornfull praysynge, of lillis blaknes, songe of soro & foule bewte, discordynge frenschyp & snaw blaknes, solas forsakyn, nedy kyngdome. It has a nyghtyngale mor rorynge þen a cowe, A swete voys with-outyn melody, a scheep cled in foxis skyn, & a dowe wodar þen any wode best. Flee we þerfor bodily & worldly lufe, qwos bake has a pryke if all þe face flatyr ; qwos flowre is anoytt with gall, & þe pape of neddyrs, þof it be priuely, it beris ; qwos sauyr cuttis mans saule fro gode, & þe bath byrnys with fyre of hell ; qwos gold into moll sall turne, & þe ensens fyre of byrnstone sall scheed" (p. 89, l. 25).

This list of citations, though small, taken from the prose of Richard Rolle, shows that he handled the device of fabulous natural history with skill remarkable for the early period. He was the first to give to parts of his prose a form that anticipated the manner of the early Euphuists.

When the large quantity of Wyclif's prose is taken into account, we find that he uses illustrations of this class sparingly, though

effectively as the selected occurrences on pages 23 and 24 of this paper will show. Our next text, the *The Ayeubite of Inwyte*, however, is particularly rich in striking examples of this type of allusion. Of those collected, the following are the most interesting:

"þe yelpere is þe *cockou*. þet ne han naȝt zinge bote of him-zelue : þis zenne is ybound ine þan þet be his oȝene mouþe him yelþþ. oþer of his wytte. oþer of his kenne. oþer of his workes. oþer of his prouesse" (p. 22).

"þanne is he of þe kende of þe *baselycoc*. uor no grenhede ne may yleste beuore hym. ne in gerse ne in busse ne in trauwe" (p. 28).

"Blondere and misziggere : byeþ of one scole. þise byeþ þe tuo *nykeren* þet we uyndeþ ine bokes of kende of bestes. Vor hy byeþ a ssewyng of þe ze þet me klepeþ *nykeren*. þet habbeþ bodyes of wyfman and tayl of uisssse. and clauen of arn. and zuo zuetelich zingeþ þet hi makeþ slepe þe ssipmen and efterward his uorzuelþþ. þet byeþ þe blonderes. þet be hare uayre zang makeþ slepe þet uolk. and ine hare zenne. hi resembleþ an *eddre* þet hatte *serayn*. þet yernþ more zuyþere þanne hors. and oþerhuyl vleþ. and habbeþ þet uenym zuo strang : þet no triacle ne is þer to naȝt worþ. Vor raþe comþ þe dyab : þanne me uelþ þane byte. þet byeþ þe missiggeres. of huam salomon zayþ þet hi byteþ ase *eddren* in bezyukinge. an þet uenim slaȝþ þri in one stroke. . . . þet is þe felliste best þet me clepeþ *hyane*. þet ondelfþ þe bodies of dyade men and hise eteþ. þet byeþ þo þet byteþ and eteþ þe guode men of religion þet byeþ dyade to the wordle. Hi byeþ more feller þanne helle. þet ne uorzuyþ bote kueade. Ac hi yerneþ op to þe guode. hueruore hy byeþ anlicned to þe *zoȝe*. huanne hi heþ yuarged wel bleþeliche byt men : yeloped mid huyt. Hy byeþ ase þe *thapwynche* þet ine uelþe of man makeþ his nest and zuo resteþ. þet byeþ þe *ssarnboddres* þet beuleþ þe floures and louieþ þet dong" (p. 61).¹

"þes is þe *scorpioun* þet makeþ uayr mid þe heauede. and enueymeþ mid þe tayle" (p. 62).

"Alsuo deþ þe lyegere. hueruore he is ase þe *gamelos* þet leueþ by þe eyr and naȝt ne heþ ine his roppes bote wynd. and heþ ech manere colour þet ne heþ non his oȝen" (p. 62).

"Zuyche men byeþ anlykned to þe *þorn-hog*. þet ys al ywryge mid prikyinde eles. and hit is to moche fel and zone hit is wroþ. And þanne hit is of-tyened : he kest out his eles of his body : arigthalf and a lefthalf" (p. 66).

¹ A somewhat similar grouping is found in Gosson's *The School of Abuse*:

"The scarabe flies over many a sweete flower, and lightes in a cowshard : It is the custome of the flie to leave the sound places of the Horse and suck at the Botch. The nature of Colloquintida, to draw the worst humours too itselfe : The maner of swine to forsake the faire fieldes, and wallow in the myre The deceitful Phisition giveth sweete Syrroppes to make his poyson goe downe the smother : The Juggler casteth a myst to worke the closer : the Syrens song is the Saylor's wracke : the Fowlers whistle the birdes death : The wholesome bayte the fishes bayne : The Harpies have Virgins faces, and vultures talents : Hyena speaks like a friend and devours like a foe : The calmest seas hide dangerous rockes : the Woolf iettes in Weathers felles." Quoted from Landmann, p. 85.

"þe hare yernþ. þe gryhond hym uolgeþ. þe on be drede : þe oþer be wynlynge. þe on vlygþ : þe oþer hyne dryfþ. þe holy man yernþ ase grihond. þet habbeþ alday hare ege to heuene : huer hi yzyeþ þe praye : þet hi driueþ. And þeruore hy uoryeþeþ alle oþre guodes. ase deþ þe gentyl hond : huanne ha zyþ his praye touore his egen" (p. 75).

"þanne huo þet hedde þe zygþe ase heþ þe lynx þet me clepeþ oþerlaker : leucernere. þet yzyþ þorg þane wal alouer. ha ssolde yzy openliche þet non uayr body ne is : bote a huyt zech uol of donge stynkinde. and ase a donghel besnewed" (p. 81).

"Of grat pris ase þet gold þet þe more hit is ine uere : þe more hit is clene and clyer and tretable. ase þe salamandre þet leueþ ine þe uere. and as þe viss þet ine þe trauailinde wetere : him baþeþ and norisseþ" (p. 167).

"Vor he ne may nagt þolye þane guode smel of þe ilke smerieles namore þanne þe boterel þanne smel of þe vine" (p. 187).

"Me uint ine þe boc þet speķ of kende of bestes. þet þe elifans nele nagt wonye mid his wyue : þerhuyle þet hi is mid childe" (p. 224).¹

"To loki þet stat of wodewehod me ssel sterie þe uorbisne of þe turle. Vor ase zayþ þe boc of kende of bestes. efter þet þe turle heþ ylore hare make : hi ne ssel neuremo hadde uelagrede mid oþren. ac alneway hi is one and be-ulygt þe uelagrede of oþren" (p. 226).

In this connection it may not be amiss to present specimens from another, though later, manual of conduct *The Book of the Knight La Tour Landry*,² written in 1371–2. Caxton translated this work in 1483 and published it in the following year. The citations, however, are from a much earlier translation :

"Afterwarde, in sayeng youre praiers atte masse or in other place, be not like the crane or the tortu ; for thei are like the crane and the turtu that turnithe her hede and fases backward, and lokithe ouer the shuldre, and, euer steringe with the hede like a vesselle, hauithe youre loke and holdith youre hede ferme as a best that is called a lymmer, the whiche lokithe euer afore hym withoute turning her hede hedir or thedir, but lokithe ever forth right" (p. 15).

¹ Cf. *The Diall of Princes* :

"For the profe of this, it neadeth not bookes to reade, but only our eyes to see : how the brute beastes for the moste part (when the femailes are bygge) do not touche them, nor yet the femailes suffer them to be touched. I meane that the noble and high estates ought to absente themselves from their wives carnally. . . . Aristotle in the firste booke *de Animalibus* saieth, when the Lyonisse is bigge wyth wealpe, the lyon doth not onely hunt for her and him selfe : but also both night and day, he wandereth continuallye about to watche her" (p. 95).

² Thomas Wright, *The Book of the Knight La Tour Landry, Compiled for the Instruction of his Daughters. Translated from the Original French into English in the Reign of Henry VI, and Edited for the First Time from the Unique Manuscript in the British Museum, with an Introduction and Notes.* E. E. T. S., 33.

"And after, whanne the bisshope had shewed these ensaumples with other, he saide that the women that were so horned were lyche to be horned *snailles* and *hertes* and *unicornes*. And also he saide by men that wered to shorte gownes and shewed her breeches, the whiche is her shame. And so the man with his clothes, and the woman with her hornes, mockithe god. And he saide they were like the *hertys*, that bare downe her hedes in the smalle wode; for whanne thei come to the chirche, and holy water be caste on hem, thei bowe downe the hede. 'Y doute' saide the bisshope 'that the deuelle sitte not betwene her hornes, and that he make hem bowe down the hede for ferde of the holy water. For he saide that suche array was like the *attercoppe* that makithe his nettes to take the flies or thei be ware, so the deuelle makithe hem to be taken in synne with the lokinge and sight of her tyre, the whiche makithe hym to desire and delite foule plesaunce of the synne of lechery, as it is more plainly contened in the boke that is cleped the *Lyff of Farderes*'" (p. 63).

"I wille telle you the ensauple of a *lyon* and of his properte; whanne the lyonesse hath done hym any displese or despite, he wille not turne no more to her of alle that day, ne that night, for no thinge that may befall; he shewes in suche wise his lordshippe. And it is a good ensauple to eueri woman, whanne a wilde beste, that canne no reson but auent that meues hym, makes himself dradde and douted of his felaw. Now take hede thanne, a good woman ought not to displese ne disobeye her husbonde that God hath geuen her by his holy sacrament" (p. 86).

"And whanne the tyme rennithe as from somer to wynter, as whanne plesaunce is fayled, and they see hem self lesse honoured, thanne ofte tymes they falle into repentaille so that loue and plesaunce is foryete; as the *nightyngales*, as longe as they be ameraus, they synge plesauntly day and night, and whanne they haue rejoysed thaire ameraus desyre and plesaunces, thei make abace melodye, for thei synge no more" (p. 156).

A few of the many examples in the *Voiage and Travaile*¹ of Sir John Maundeville are :

"And then the Bird Fenix comethe, and brennethe him self to Ashes. And the first Day next aftre, Men fynden in the Ashes a Worm, and the secunde Day next aftre, Men funden a Bird quyk and perfyte; and the thridde Day next aftre, he fleethe his way. And so there is no more Briddes of that Kynde in alle the World, but it allone. And men may well lykne that Bryd unto God; be cause that there nys no God but on; and also, that oure Lord aroos fro Dethe to Lyve, the thridde Day" (p. 48).²

¹ J. O. Halliwell, *The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville, Kt.* Reprinted from the Edition of 1725, with an Introduction, Additional Notes, and Glossary, London, 1866. The text of this edition is taken from Cotton Tit. C. xvi., written about the year 1400.

² Cf. *The Golden boke of Marcus Aurelius*: "It was closed with two leaves, subtyly wroughte of a red wood, that some sayde was of the tree that the Phenyx

"And in Cycile there is a manere of Serpentes, be the whiche Men assayen and preuen where here Children ben Bastardis or none, or of lawefulle Mariage. For zif thei ben born in righte Mariage, the Serpentes gon aboute hem, and don hem non harm: and zif thei ben born in Avowtrie, the Serpentes byten hem and envenyme hem" (p. 54).

"And no man may drynken of the Watre, for bytternesse. And zif a man caste Iren there in, it wole flete abouen. And zif men caste a Fedre, it wole synke to the botme: and theise ben thinges azenst kynde" (p. 100).

"By twyne the Cytee of Darke and the Cytee of Raphane, ys a Ryvere, that men clepen Sabatorye. For on the Saturday, hyt renneth faste; and alle the Wooke elles, hyt stondeth styлле, and renneth nouzt or lytel. And thare ys a nother Ryvere that upon the nyzt freseth wondur faste; and uppon the day, ys noon Frost sene" (p. 125).

"In that partie is a Welle, that in the day it is so cold, that no man may drynke there offe; and in the nyght it is so hoot, that no man may suffre his hond there in" (p. 156).

"For righte as the fyn Perl congelethe and wexethe gret of the Dew of Hevene, righte so dothe the verray Dyamand: and right as the Perl of his owne kynde takethe Roundnesse, righte so the Dyamand be vertu of God, takethe squarenesse. And men schalle bere the Dyamaund on his left syde: for it is of grettere vertue, thanne, than on the righte syde" (p. 159).

"Aftre that men token the Adamand, that is the Schipmannes Ston, that drawethe the Nedle to him, and men leyn the Dyamand upon the Adamand, and leyn the Nedle before the Ademand, and zif the Dyamand be gode and vertuous, the Ademand drawethe not the Nedle to him, whils the Dyamand is there present. . . . Natheless it befallethe often tyme, that the gode Dyamande lesethe his vertue, be syne and for Incontynence of him, that berethe it: and thanne it is nedfulle to make it to recoveren his vertu azen, or elle it is of litille value" (p. 161).¹

That the writer of the *Ancren Riwe*² was greatly impressed with the didactic value of illustrations drawn from the field of fabulous natural history is evident. This thirteenth century manual, remarkable for its fine prose has, as its most marked artificiality, many such illustrations. Characteristic specimens are the following:

bredeth in: and is called Rasyn. And as there is but one byrde Phenix bredyng in Arabie: so lykewise there is no more trees in the world of the same kynde" (Cap. XLVIII).

Cf. *The Diall of Princes*: "And it was closed with II lyddes very fine of red woode, whiche they cal rasin, of a tree where the phenix (as they saye) breadeth, whiche dyd growe in Arabia. And as there is but one oneleye, so in the worlde is there but one oneleye tree of that sorte" (Cap. LVII).

¹ Cf. Bond, I, 321, l. 2, and note on p. 373.

² James Morton, *The Ancren Riwe*, Camden Society Publications, No. 57, London, 1853.

"Agein bittre ancren Daud seið þis uers, 'Similis factus sum pellicano solitudinis, etc. Ich am ase pellican, he seið, þet wunieð bi him one. Proprietas pellicani.' *Pellican*¹ is a leane fowel, so weamod ȝ so wreðful þet hit sleað ofte uor grome his owune briddes, hwon heo teoneð him, ant þeonne sone þer efter hit bicumeð swuðe sori, ȝ makeð swuðe muche mone, ȝ smit him suluen mid his bile þ hit slouh er his briddes mide, ȝ drauhð ut blod of his breoste, ȝ mit tet blod acwikeð eft his isleiene briddes. þis pellican is þe weamode ancre. Hire briddes, þet beoð hire gode werkes, þet heo sleað ofte mid bile of shearpe wreððe : auh hwon heo so haueð idon, do ase deð þe pellican : of þunche hit swuðe sone, ȝ mid hire owune bile bekie hire breoste : þet is mid schrifte of hire muðe þet heo sunegede mid, ȝ slouh hire gode werkes, drawe þe blod of sunne ut of hire breoste, þet is, of þe heorte, þet soule lif is inne, ȝ so schulen eft acwikien hire isleiene briddes, þet heoð hire werkes" (p. 118).

"þe briddes fleoð wel þet habbeð lutel flesch, ase þe *pellican* haueð, ȝ monie uederen. þe *steorc* uor his muchele flesche makeð a semblaunt uorte vleon, ȝ beateð þe hwingen : auh þe fette drauhð euer to þer eorde. Al right so, fleschlich ancre þet luueð flesches lustes foluwed hire eise, þe heuinesse of hire flesche ȝ flesches unðeawes binimeð hire hire vluht : ȝ tauh heo makie semblaunt, ȝ muchel noise mid te hwingen, þet is, leten of ase þauh heo fluwe ȝ were an holi ancre" (p. 132).

"Of dumbe bestes ȝ of dumbe fueles leorneð wisdom ȝ lore. þe *earn* deð in his neste enne deorewurðe gimston þet hette *achate*. Vor non attri þinc ne mei þene ston neihen, ne þeo hwule þet he is in his neste hermen his briddes. þes deorewurðe ston, þet is Iesu Crist, ase ston treowe ȝ ful of alle mihten, ouer alle gimstones" (p. 134).¹

"þe *scorpion* is ones cunnes wurm þet haued neb, ase me seið, sum del iliche ase wummon, ȝ is neddre bihinden, makeð feir semblaunt, ȝ fikeð mid te heaued, ȝ stingeð mid te teile" (p. 206).

"Loke nu þet tu þet he cleopeð *kulure*, habbe *kulure* kunde, þet is wiðuten galle" (p. 292).²

"þe deuuel is *beorekunnnes*, and haueð *asse* kunde : vor he is behinden strong, and feble iðe heaueð, þet is, iðe urumðe, and so is beore ȝ asse. Ne gif him nuer ingong : auh tep him oðe schulle, uor he is eruh ase beore þeron : and hie him so þeoneward, ȝ ascur him so scheomeliche, so sone so þu undergitest him, þet he hold him ischend, and þet him agrise wið þe stude þet tu wunest inne : vor he is þinge prudest, and him is scheome lodest" (p. 296).

"*Grickischs fur* is imaked of reades monnes blode : and tet ne mei noðinge bute migge, and sond, and eisel, ase me seið acwenchen. þis Grickische fur is þe luue of ure Lorde : and ge hit schulen makien of reades monnes blode, þet is Jesu Crist i-readed mid his owune bloðe oðe rode. And was in-read kundeliche also, ase me weneð. þis blod, for, ou i-sched upo þe herde two treon, schal makien ou Sarepciens : þet is, ontenden ou mid Grickische fure, þet, ase Salemon seið, none wateres, þet beoð worldliche temptaciuns ne tribulaciuns, nouðer inre ne uttre, ne muwen þeos luue acwenchen. Nu, nis þer, þeonne, on ende, buten witen ou

¹ Cf. Bond, I, 261, l. 24, and note on p. 354.

² Cf. *Ibid.*, II, 105, l. 4, and note on p. 513.

warliche urom alle þeo þing þet hit acwencheð, þet beoð migge, ⁊ sond, ⁊ eisel. Migge is stench of sunne. O sond ne groweð no god, and bitocneð idel : and idel acoaldeð ⁊ acwencheð þis fur. Sturieð ou euer cwicliche ine Gode werkes, ⁊ þet schal heaten ou ⁊ ontenden þis fur aȝean þe brune of sunne. Vor, al so as on neil driueð ut þen oðerne, al so þe brune of Godes lue driueð brune of ful lue ut of þe heorte. þet þridde þing is eisel : þet is sur heorte, of nið ⁊ of onde. Understondeð þis word. þo þeo niðfule Giws offreden ure Louerde þis sure present o rode, þo seide he þet reouðfule word 'Consummatum est' ! Cweð he, 'Neuer er nu nes ich ful pined' : nout þuruh þet eisel, auh þuruh hore ontful e nið, þet tet eisel bitocnaede, þet heo him makeden drincken" (p. 403).

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

The results of the preceding paper may be summarized as follows :

1. Our study of representative Middle English prose revealed a conscious effort to produce an attractive style by the use of various devices such as alliteration, repetition, balance, antithesis, and figures drawn from natural history. These artificialities are used in a manner so suggestive of the rhetoric of Ephuism, that the entire body of prose studied may be said to be Euphuistic in tendency.

2. Of the writers studied, Richard Rolle gave the most striking results. His peculiarities of style and the way in which they are used, if found in a work of the early sixteenth century, would undoubtedly entitle it to the designation of Euphuistic. Were there a succession of writers with unbroken literary traditions, leading from the early fourteenth century up to the Ephuists of the sixteenth century, Richard Rolle would be considered a forerunner of Berners, North, Pettie, and Lyly. Richard Rolle's prose may, therefore, be considered the earliest, original prose exhibiting a style anticipatory of the highly developed Ephuism of Lyly and his school. It is a matter of regret that our most popular school Histories of English Literature pay no attention to Richard Rolle and so little to the prose writings of his time.

3. The main cause for the over-refined Ephuism of the sixteenth century was the direct study and imitation (1), of classic and patristic Latin prose (2), of Spanish prose, either directly,

or by way of French translations. The Spanish had received its marked coloring, notably of sentence-structure, from over-imitation of Latin prose. Middle English had, of course, no similar Romance models. Its agreements with sixteenth century prose are due to the direct imitation of classic and patristic features of style. The immediate source of the earlier period became the ultimate source of the later.

To the list of sources for Richard Rolle we must add the *De Amicitia* of Cicero, a writer whose style made him a favorite in the sixteenth century.

LIFE.

I was born June 27, 1872, at New York, N. Y. In the public schools of that city and at Hartwick Seminary, Otsego Co., N. Y., I received my preliminary education. In 1896 I was graduated from Wittenberg College, Springfield, O., with the degree of A. B. The year following I spent as a student in Hamma Divinity School, Springfield, O. I entered Columbia University in 1897 where I took courses under Professors Price, W. H. Carpenter, Thomas, Brander Matthews, and Jackson, leading to the degree of A. M., which I received in June, 1898. I enrolled, in the fall of 1898, at the Johns Hopkins University where I studied under Professors Bright, Browne, Wood, Vos, Griffin, Adams, Bloomfield, and Doctors Baker, Blake, and Ness. From 1899 to 1901, in connection with my regular university work, I was Instructor in English and German at the Randolph-Harrison School of Baltimore. In 1901 I was appointed University Scholar for the department of English and in 1902 Fellow in English. In June, 1904, I was elected Professor of English in Wittenberg College. It is a pleasant duty to thank my various instructors for the help they have afforded me. To Professor Bright I am especially indebted for the warm interest he has always shown in my career. His ideals of work and his own example as investigator and teacher are a constant inspiration.

